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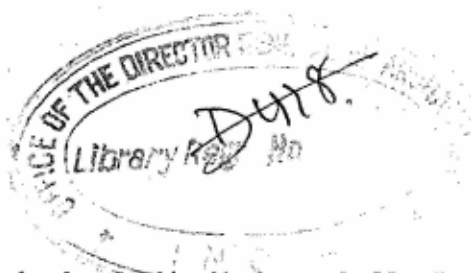
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"One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More."—SPENSER.

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Asiatic Quarterly Review.

JULY, 1890.

THE REGENERATION OF PERSIA.

PERSIA has, probably, excited a much keener interest in the minds of Englishmen during the last eighteen months than it has for many a previous year. Not only did the Shah come to Europe last summer, but he also remained a considerable time in this country, visiting our great centres of commerce and industry. This was one of the causes which turned the eyes of Englishmen towards the country that lies between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf; another was, that the Shah had granted a most important concession, for the carrying out of which the British public were invited to invest their money in a company incorporated by Royal Charter; this invitation being responded to, the investors naturally desired to make themselves acquainted with the land in which their funds were to be used. Beginning in November, and ending in March last, *The Times* published a long correspondence entitled "Persia and the Persian Question," which took the form of a series of articles; these articles, which are admirably compiled, suffer from the fact that their writer's visit to Persia was limited to a few weeks. This is a misfortune to the public interests, inasmuch as it was generally assumed that the observations made by him, a traveller on a rapid

journey, were those of an expert; and this, alas! is far from being the case.

All who have made the East their study, know how difficult it is for an European to gauge the actual state of affairs, and to understand how a particular circumstance is looked upon by Orientals. No doubt, a traveller in Europe, in passing through a country, with the language of which he may be unfamiliar, is sometimes able to get a tolerably accurate idea of the people and of their customs; for although there are great differences between the various nations of Europe, there is also a kind of analogy among them which enables one to judge of their specific characteristics more or less correctly. But when once the confines of Europe are passed and the traveller finds himself within the threshold of the East, everything is immediately changed. New languages, with sounds entirely new to him, greet the ear; not only can he not understand what they mean, but he is also at first unable to reproduce them; yet language to a people is the principal medium through which the inner working of its mind becomes manifest. Without knowing its language it is impossible to have any real sympathy with a people; and without sympathy—in the true sense of the word—it is impossible to appreciate Orientals or their ideas. This is our great difficulty: this is why Europeans, and especially Englishmen, fail to comprehend the East; they do not try to understand the Oriental: they imagine him cast in the same mould as themselves; and this is a sad mistake, for they thus render themselves unable to grasp the way in which an Oriental approaches a subject from a point of view quite different from that taken by themselves: the result follows, that they cannot judge what the effect of any particular event or course of action may be.

Another, and not a trifling, difficulty that the traveller has to contend with, even if he can make himself understood by the natives, is, that the difference of religion puts

an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of gaining their confidence. Every one is acquainted with the species of freemasonry which exists amongst Orientals, especially Mussulmans—a freemasonry which not only binds them most closely together, but which also forms a barrier between them and a foreigner: therefore, the information that a traveller may succeed in obtaining from them is very scanty, and is necessarily misleading in consequence; whilst if he try to supplement the little information he so obtains by his own impressions, he will probably be equally misled by them, as he is not competent to appreciate the causes from which they arose.

As already stated, the above-mentioned articles in *The Times* are extremely well written, and, moreover, are exceedingly valuable as exactly portraying the impressions of the intelligent European who sets his foot in Persia for the first time; but as impressions they must be treated, and not as the result of the labour of one who had devoted a large portion of his life to the observation of the country and who was well acquainted with its language, and had thus acquired a profound knowledge of the people.

It is not to be understood from the above that the facts chronicled are wrong; but the inferences drawn from them are frequently incorrect. The writer has done his best to supplement his own observation by the opinions of residents in the country (all, practically, Europeans), many of whom were deemed to be qualified to give him the most trustworthy information; at the same time very few of them really knew Persia sufficiently to be able to give a physical as well as a moral review of the country.

Persia is generally looked upon as in a state of active decay, not even showing the remnants of her former greatness; the people are considered to be devoid of patriotism, indolent and ignorant; the Government is thought of as apathetic, corrupt, and wanting in knowledge and public spirit; the country is imagined to be arid, mountainous, and poor; and although it is generally conceded that its present

ruler is desirous of reform, yet this wish is presumed to arise from a passing whim or caprice, and not to be prompted by a profound anxiety for the improvement and well-being of his empire.

This is scarcely a fair way of looking at the present state of Persia. It cannot be denied that the country is not what it was in by-gone ages; indeed, modern Persia is scarcely the shadow of her former self. Nevertheless one must look into the causes of this decadence, and, in doing so, one cannot fail to be surprised that Persia is even what she is, after having passed through the vicissitudes that have come upon her; or that she exists at all after the numerous attempts to blot her out from the face of the earth. Her vitality is shown by the fact that she is the only kingdom that has survived classic times. That she indeed is not decaying, but rather in a process of amelioration, will appear further on.

The people, perhaps, are not patriotic from our point of view, but it is a great mistake to suppose that they are devoid of patriotism; and their very existence as Persians, after the fiery ordeals they have gone through, proves that beyond doubt they *are* patriotic. Again, they are not so indolent as a casual observer might be led to imagine. Where they have scope to work, they work well; as an example of this may be cited the fact, that the best merchants in the East are Persians, and that wherever a mercantile community exists, they are sure to be found: even in European Turkey, the trade which is not carried on by Europeans, is entirely in their hands. Who can take a piece of Persian silk in his hand, or gaze on a Persian carpet, and say that the people who manufactured it are indolent? The silk is noted for a quality and brilliancy, with which no other can compare; and the carpets, while combining the most varied and artistic designs with the most gorgeous and yet harmonious colours, although, perhaps, several hundred years old, seem to bid defiance to Father Time.

Undoubtedly in Persia the agriculturists have hitherto not been so industrious as they might have been; but this has arisen from a cause unconnected with indolence. Formerly a man was taxed by the local governor in proportion to his wealth, and even the entire confiscation of his property was not unfrequent. It is obvious what must have come of such a state of things; the husbandman only raised a crop sufficient for his actual wants, labouring under the apprehension that all the surplus would be torn from him. In the year 1888, however, the Shah was induced by the British Minister, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, to issue an edict proclaiming the inviolability of life and property. Too much cannot be said for this all-important measure for the regeneration of Persia. It is not to be supposed, however, that within twenty-four hours of the promulgation of the edict, wilderness and marsh were transformed into fertility and abundance; but there is every reason to believe that as the people begin to appreciate the true meaning of this Magna Charta of Iran, the country will gradually re-assume its former aspect of prosperity. The irrigation works in Gilân and Mazenderân, and the gardens in and near the towns, testify to the capabilities (even in these directions) of the Persians, who may be justly termed the Italians of the East.

As to their ignorance, it has been grossly exaggerated; if, on the one hand, the upper classes are not so well educated as in the West, the nation, on the other, is less ignorant than almost any in Europe; and the conversation amongst the poorer classes is certainly of a much higher and more refined nature. Their prejudice against Europeans is diminishing, and would by this time have ceased to exist, had not so many visited their country, who were mere fortune-hunters of an unscrupulous type. The Persians, from want of better models to judge by, have estimated all Europeans by those with whom they, mostly, came into contact. Fortunately, there have also been some Europeans who, not only by their words, but also by their

deeds, have shown the Persians that their object has not been to suck all the juice from the orange of Iran, and to leave only the rind to its inhabitants: there have also been patient workers for the last twenty-eight years who have been desirous of really improving the state of the country; and the events of the last twelve months have demonstrated that their labours have not been in vain; but of this more anon.

The sweeping strictures on the Government are, perhaps, as unjust as the general notion with regard to the people is erroneous; before condemning them for not doing more, one should give them a hearing; and if then the evidence be carefully weighed, it cannot but strike the impartial observer that the want of initiative has not been entirely their fault. The geographical position of the country is, from a political point of view, very unfortunate for Persia: her powerful neighbour in the North, who has seized many a choice portion of her birthright, and who stands with armed hands and eager eye looking longingly at her remaining treasures, has naturally inspired her with fear; knowing as she does her physical inability to cope with so strong an antagonist. Until of late years she has not looked upon Great Britain as anything like a friend. The causes for this are too well-known to need recapitulation. Only comparatively recently has Persia seen that Great Britain is not desirous of swallowing her up, but, on the contrary, is desirous of her integrity, her prosperity, and her regeneration.

Notwithstanding this awakening to the real state of Great Britain's attitude towards Persia, her Government have often been unable to carry out many of the reforms they had desired to effect, owing to the political pressure which has been brought to bear on them from without: the events of 1873 prove the truth of this beyond all manner of doubt. Perhaps the truest charge that is brought against them is, that they are corrupt. Still they are infinitely less so than they were formerly, and it may be safely stated that the

majority of the great officers of State are quite beyond suspicion; if, of the remainder, some are venal, allowance should be made, seeing that in more civilized countries the practice of bribery is not wholly unknown. That as a Government they are ignorant, is equally incorrect: the Ministers themselves, by their habitual Oriental reserve, have in a great measure contributed to the spread of this idea, and they have also feigned to be unacquainted with a subject, in order to obtain detailed information. The Amin-ed-Dowleh himself is one of the most educated and well-informed personages in the East. As a matter of fact, the Ministers have a very keen appreciation of what is going on around them, not only with regard to matters concerning their own country, but also as to what is taking place in the world at large.

But of all subjects relating to Persia there are no views entertained in Europe so opposed to the truth as are those with regard to the Shah himself. Nasr-ed-Din Shah is by no means the Oriental despot which the reading of the "Thousand and One Nights" conjures up in our imagination; he is a most humane prince, and can compare favourably with any of his contemporaries; and if, in the early part of his reign, one or two lamentable occurrences took place, they must be ascribed to the inexperience of youth, suddenly invested with absolute power, and must not be looked upon as showing a vicious temperament. This view is indeed borne out by the fact, that they have not since been repeated. He is a cultivated man, and not devoid of linguistic talent: when he came to the throne he knew scarcely any Persian (it is customary for the heir-apparent to have his residence at Tabriz, where Turkish is spoken); but by dint of perseverance and study he has made himself so much a master of Persian that he is considered to be one of the best scholars in it, not only speaking it very elegantly but writing it also with great facility; and his productions in the way of verse are by no means unworthy of attention. French he reads and writes

easily, but he does not do himself justice when he speaks that language, owing to slight nervousness in conversing with foreigners : he is also acquainted with Arabic. He keeps himself thoroughly well-informed as to what is going on in Persia and in the world generally ; and every day he has several newspapers of foreign countries read out to him.

He has always been desirous of the welfare of his country, and he has constantly endeavoured to improve its condition in every respect ; and if many of his endeavours have not been crowned with success, it is seldom to him that the blame has been due. Even before his first journey to Europe, in 1873, he had been casting about for a means to improve the state of his subjects ; indeed, he granted the great Reuter concession in 1872, by which (as is well known) he gave over all the industrial and economical affairs of his empire into the hands of an European who, he believed, would conscientiously carry out his wishes. It is equally well-known that owing to political pressure this concession had to remain in abeyance for many years, and that it was only last year that it again assumed any tangible form, in the shape of the concession for the Imperial Bank of Persia, the making over of the mines, etc.

The ideas current in the West of the country itself are also very vague ; by a few it is thought to be a garden of Eden, but the general opinion is, that it is an arid and mountainous waste ; each view is equally wide of the mark, and the truth can only be obtained by coalescing both. There are certainly vast expanses of salt desert and mountain ranges ; but we also find whole provinces of the most fertile nature, and enormous tracts of land fertile in itself, but only cultivated to a very small degree. This is due to want of water, or rather to its non-application to irrigation, arising partly from want of capital, and partly from the causes before mentioned.

In the olden days hundreds of thousands of acres near the Karun river were covered with the most luxuriant vegetation, with abundant crops of cereals and sugar-cane, with

date-palms, etc. In those days the water of the Karun was kept under control by a great dam built across it at Ahwaz, and the ground for many miles inland was irrigated by canals cut at right angles to the course of the river. Several centuries ago the dam gave way, and the waters of the upper river (above Ahwaz) rushing through the break, emptied themselves into the sea instead of flowing into the irrigating canals, which gradually dried up, leaving what was once one of the most fertile regions in the world with barely a trace of cultivation. The dam in question was a colossal engineering undertaking, and the cause for its not being repaired was probably the unsettled state of the country at that time; all that is needed to transform the present desert waste into a vast fruitful expanse is to irrigate as heretofore, and there is every reason to believe that this will be undertaken almost immediately. That the soil itself is as generous now as it formerly was is proved by the few crops that are grown there by some of the nomad tribes, who merely sow the seed and go away, returning after a few months to reap a harvest that unaided Nature has provided for them; so rich, indeed, is it that no husbandry is necessary, and none is bestowed upon it, for the scratching of the ground with crooked wooden sticks (euphemistically called ploughs) would merely provoke a smile from the agriculturist of the West. Many other instances of the agricultural wealth of Persia can be given, notably the northern provinces, where the climate is damper, and where anything can be grown. The mulberry-tree is less cultivated now than formerly owing to the outbreak of the disease which has so materially reduced the Persian silk trade; no means of allaying the ravages of this plague seem to have been found at present.

The empire is indeed mountainous, or rather it is one great "table mountain," for the land of Iran is a vast plateau 2,000 feet above the sea, from which again spring many and lofty mountain ranges; these ranges do not, however, with one or two exceptions, interfere with loco-

motion, the caravan tracks from one town to another (save that from Bushire to Shiraz) presenting no very great difficulties, and railways could be easily substituted for most of them, not to speak of mere cart-roads.

Such then is the general aspect of facts and things in Persia, and it is in relation to them that we must decide whether she be progressing or not.

Before going on to discuss the latest phase which has arisen through the carrying out of the concessions granted recently, it were well to cast a rapid glance over the events that took place during the years 1872-1888. Immediately the world saw (in 1872) that the Shah was desirous of opening up his country from an European point of view (as was evidenced by his granting the said Reuter concession), a great many persons endeavoured to obtain other concessions—some for the benefit of Persia, others for the benefit of both themselves and of Persia, and, last (but alas, not least in number), others for the benefit of themselves alone. Numerous concessions were granted, and in many cases attempts were made to carry them out; but most of them, for one reason or another (and as some of the grantees are still alive, it were kinder not to particularize too much), came to nothing. Lighting the capital with gas resulted in the illumination of one street for a short space of time every evening—at a great cost; electric lighting was also attempted, valuable plant being brought out from Europe. Now only the pedestals, on which the lamps were, remain to show “what might have been.” These, and many other kindred schemes, came to nothing, not through the fault of the Persians, but owing to the measures taken by the Europeans to carry them out. One is led to believe that the latter did not lose so much pecuniarily as the people whom they pretended to benefit. Passing over such schemes as factories for sugar, oil, candles, matches, etc., hosts of others were attempted and failed in a similar way. Amongst the more important may be mentioned a railway

from Teheran to Shah-Abdul-Ayim, a distance of six miles over a stretch of country as flat as a billiard table. Owing to bad management and wasteful expenditure, the line cost about £20,000 a mile! Shah-Abdul-Ayim containing a shrine, to which the Persians are in the habit of repairing, caused the passenger traffic at first to be very large; but the native passengers were extremely badly treated by the various officials of the company, who habitually crowded twice as many people into one compartment as it was intended to carry; and when in the end of 1888 an accident occurred in which a Persian was seriously hurt, the number of passengers decreased to a minimum that scarcely paid working expenses, and such is the case at the present moment. The subject of railways and their success in Persia is too intricate and important a subject to be discussed in a few words, and therefore must be left for a future time to be considered in detail.

During the whole of this period Baron Julius de Reuter had been negotiating with a view of carrying out his concession of 1872 (which he had been prevented from doing by *vis major*); and in January, 1889, he and the Persian Government came to a compromise, which resulted in a new contract being entered into, giving him the right to found an Imperial State Bank in the Persian empire, and a grant of all the mines throughout the realm, excepting the few already ceded to other persons.

On comparing the two concessions, that of 1872 with that of 1889, the reader will perhaps be surprised at the smallness of the latter as compared with the former; but on considering how impossible it was, owing to political pressure, for the Persian Government to grant more, it cannot be denied that the last granted concession is one of vast magnitude in itself. The Persians, being good traders, had for centuries past been acquainted with the technicalities of finance, infinitely more so indeed than any other nation in the East; still they had never had a real bank (except a branch of the New Oriental Bank,

which, after about a year and a half's existence in Persia, was early in this year bought up by the Imperial Bank). The granting of the concession for this institution was the first step towards bringing a thorough and efficient reforming influence to bear on the country : nothing could, perhaps, so well show how administration should be carried on with respect to order, punctuality, regularity, and *bona fides*, as does a bank when conducted on sound principles ; not only is it in this way a tiny model of a Government, but it is a great example for trade and commerce to follow, showing, as it does, how business may be profitably carried on without taking undue advantage of the person with whom any particular operation is being transacted ; indeed, the Imperial Bank is already acting as a curb to the extortionate rates of interest demanded by the usurers, and obtained by them from their unfortunate fellow-countrymen when sore pressed by the force of circumstances. But not only is a bank in this way an example to trade and traders, but it is also a great stimulus to commerce. One of the great disadvantages under which Persia laboured was the abundance of coined money in one part of the Empire and a corresponding dearth of it in another ; at one time there would be scarcely any money in Tabriz, and it is but two months ago since there was a great scarcity in Bushire. The issue of notes by the Imperial Bank, which are legal tender throughout the Empire, will greatly modify this state of things, saving, as it will in a great measure, the enormous expense of transport of specie—it is needless to say that this expense is very great owing to the want of roads. Again, the bank is a tangible proof to the Persians that the Shah's edict guaranteeing the inviolability of property is more than mere words ; formerly they concealed the wealth they amassed, now they deposit it in the Imperial Bank, fully confident of its safety there, and congratulating themselves that they are no longer obliged to let their capital lie idle. The services which the institution renders to trade in facilitating pay-

ments by means of telegraphic remittances, notes, cheques, bills, etc., etc., are too obvious to call for comment; suffice it to say that, although the Imperial Bank is less than a year old, it is already looked upon as the regular channel for business transactions.

To the bank was also granted the working of iron, coal, copper, lead, borax, asbestos, manganese, mercury, and petroleum mines for a period of sixty years: as, however, the working of mines is not part of a bank's business, this portion of the concession was lately made over to a separate company for a large sum, partly in cash, and partly in shares.

This granting of the mines by the Persian Government was not only a very valuable adjunct to the bank concession, but it also embodied a principle which ought not to be lost sight of. In handing over the immense mineral resources of his country to an European corporation, the Shah was fully alive to the fact—indeed it was his object—that by so doing he was conferring a great and lasting benefit upon his empire and his people. All metals fetch excessively high prices in Persia, especially in the interior, owing to the expense of transport, which again is owing to want of roads. For instance, iron is sold at Teheran at a higher figure than copper is in London, and yet Persia abounds in iron; so it is with copper, lead, etc.; coal affords even a more striking instance, for, although extensive coal-fields exist within a drive of the gates of the capital, and notwithstanding that labour is phenomenally cheap, yet coal rules at forty shillings a ton in the city. Industrial enterprise on a large scale has, consequently, been checked hitherto; for with metals fetching a high price, all mechanical plant becomes too expensive to be employed. It is impossible, for want of space, to enumerate the countless benefits which the Persians will derive from the working of the mines.

The Shah has long seen the necessity for means of communication and transport throughout his empire. This is

obvious from his granting a concession for railways in 1872, and now he has granted a concession for the construction of a road for vehicular traffic from Teheran to Ahwaz, on the Karun; that is to say, connecting the capital with the sea. The grantees also have the right to construct a branch road, leaving the former at Burujird, and going thence to Isfahan, which may be called the capital of Central Persia. The importance of this concession (which, by the way, is now the property of the Imperial Bank) cannot be overestimated. It means that the Persians can travel from one part of their country to another, and can do so with ease, and escape the arduous caravan journey, the disagreeableness of which can only be judged of by those who have made one; it means that foreign merchandise can reach the interior without risk of damage from accident or weather (for when packed on beasts of burthen, it is likely to suffer from both, which it will be free from in covered carts); in a word, it means that the whole of Iran will be brought into contact with Europe and the other countries of Asia. Increased facilities for export will bring wealth to the people, and increased facilities for import will supply them comforts they could not before obtain. The Shah has also wisely made to the *cessionnaires* a free grant of nearly twenty square miles of land at each station along the road, which they are to put in a state of cultivation, and reap any profits they may therefrom.

The Shah has of late granted several other concessions of more or less importance, amongst the former of which is one for the construction of roads for vehicular traffic from Teheran to Tabriz, the great centre of commerce in North-western Persia; from Tabriz to Burujird; from Tabriz to Julfa (on the Russian frontier); and from Tabriz to the Turkish frontier. This is, however, not yet in active operation.

From these few (out of many) facts it will be seen that Nasr-ed-Din Shah sees what his country is in need of, and is doing his best (as he always has done) to supply its

wants. Besides trying to increase home industries and commerce, he has conferred another great benefit on his country, namely, the opening up of the Karun river in 1888, a benefit alike to his own country and to the world at large. The subject has been so much discussed of late, that only a short notice of it will be necessary here. The Karun may be said to be the only navigable river in Persia, and by making use of it, the journey by land to the capital is 250 miles less than that from Bushire. Not only is the journey thus reduced by a third, but the road from the river to Teheran passes through an infinitely less difficult country than the other.

Looking at Persia as she was forty years ago, and looking at her as she is now, the impartial observer cannot fail to admit that a great improvement has taken place. When the Shah first held the reins of sovereignty over Persia, the country was convulsed with internal strife, and even his throne was in great danger; now his country is in a state of peace and quiet, which has been most conclusively proved by his several journeys to Europe. Very few of his predecessors could have ventured to absent themselves from their empire so unconcernedly. Whereas, formerly, the death of a Shah was the signal for a struggle for the throne, frequently causing great bloodshed, it may now be looked upon as certain that on the passing away of the present sovereign, his successor will ascend the steps of the throne without strife or difficulty. Not only is the country politically quiet now, but it is also safe to travellers of all nationalities, arms being absolutely unnecessary. Moreover, the European is no longer looked upon as some strange animal, and mobbed accordingly; and European ladies can go about unveiled without fear of insult, which formerly was quite impossible. This, to the reader unfamiliar with Mussulmans, will appear to be of very minor importance, whereas in reality it is a proof of the great advance of liberal ideas, inasmuch as it means toleration of that which they believe to be in direct contravention of the

spirit of the Koran. Last, but not least, of all the benefits that the Shah has conferred on his subjects is his guarantee of the inviolability of life and property before referred to. This is the principle that separates civilization from barbarism; and if by nothing else, by this glorious act, Nasr-ed-Din Shah will for ever live in the memory of posterity, who should write this portion of the world's history in letters of gold.

In other ways the country has benefited to an equal degree by the sagacious government of its present ruler. First and foremost we have a great waterway opened up to international commerce; next we have the construction of roads of communication, which in their very existence will make the empire homogeneous, and will electrify it into a state of energy which it could not have arrived at otherwise. By the aid of foreign capital, home industries are being revived, and new ones introduced; and what is perhaps the most striking sign of the times is, that the custody of native wealth is now fearlessly placed in the hands of Europeans; for the Bank, which is managed on European principles [the same Europeans who were formerly looked upon with such distrust], is now so trusted by the Persians, that, as was before stated, they deposit their funds with it. More than this, many of them have invested their money in the shares of the institution, and are rightly confident of the value of their investment, having a better opportunity than even the directors themselves (who are in England) of seeing what a success the enterprise is, and the profits that are being made; and they are much strengthened in this opinion by observing the Government make use of the Bank, for the collection of its revenues and for the transmission of its customs dues. Partnerships of Persians with Europeans show that the former spirit of intolerance is dying out; and the fact that small companies exist [whose articles of association—if they may be so called—are drawn up on Persian principles, and can only be enforced by Persian law],

in which Europeans have invested their capital, points most strongly to the fact that those who are acquainted with the country have confidence in Persia and the Persians, in spite of the feeling to the contrary, which unfortunately is more generally prevalent in Europe. Land is beginning to be reclaimed from desert and marsh, and the mineral wealth is being brought to the surface to be made use of by the inhabitants of Iran, who have so long neglected it. This is only the signal for the construction of machinery to carry on old industries on a scale far greater than of yore, and for the introduction or creation of new industries, which in their turn will result in the formation of large, populous, and wealthy centres.

When this scene of Iran is contemplated, and it is at the same time borne in mind that its government is better than it was, that the spirit of intolerance is passing away, and that the causes which checked the energy of its inhabitants and made them appear apathetic and indolent are disappearing, it is impossible not to exclaim:—

“The regeneration of Persia has begun.”

PERSICUS.

THE ANCIENT SHAN KINGDOM OF PONG.

It is surprising to find how one's knowledge of geography and ethnology is enhanced by fortuitous circumstances such as direct personal interests, or events attracting general attention. Many a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society has never heard of Dustipur in Bengal, or of Jungabad in the Punjab; yet the friends of Mr. Brown, the joint magistrate of the former station, or of Lieutenant Jones, of the Multani Horse, who dates his letters from the latter, can readily indicate on the map what would otherwise be, to them, very uninteresting localities, and distinguish the inhabitants as Punjabis, Puthans, Rajpoots, Bengalis, and so forth, instead of disposing of them, as heretofore, under the generic term "native." In like manner many now glibly talk of the places connected with Mr. Stanley's famous journey, or Major Serpa Pinto's exploits, which a little while ago were to them veritable *terra incognita*. They have also discovered that all Africans are not negroes, and many of them by no means so black as their imagination painted them. Both cartographers and booksellers are generally able to satisfy the demand for maps of, and information concerning, the most out-of-the-way places and people coming under the second category. A lamentable exception to this rule is, however, afforded in connection with that part of Upper Burma lately the theatre of one of our little wars, popularly known as the Chin Lushai Expedition,* from the tribes most turbulent in their opposition to coercion. It is of absorbing interest, not only to the Government authorities who desired to carry

* A new map of Upper Burma, in which all the latest information is embodied, will, it is said, be shortly published.

out a policy of stern repression combined with conciliation, but also to the relatives of the troops condemned to exploit this unhealthy, inhospitable, and comparatively unknown region, occupied by various tribes in a low stratum of civilization, whom we designate either arbitrarily, as suits our own notions of correctness, or by appellations borrowed from the Burmese, but who, in their several vernaculars, rather egotistically refer to themselves as "man." This most promising but most neglected territory, representing some of the metropolitan States of the once famous Shan Kingdom of Pong, which, it is said, extended from Assam to Yunnan and the Gulf of Siam, acquired much importance recently for various reasons; firstly, as the objective of large military expeditions from Assam and Rangoon; secondly, it suggests a remedy for the sparseness of its population by offering inducements to emigrants from China, the Shan States and Bengal; and thirdly, through it a railway has been projected for the purpose of connecting the Indian and Burmese systems.

Pong, at a period unknown, was evidently a victim to the fate which, in Marco Polo's time, overtook the peoples of Indo-China and the Eastern Islands, when "a variety of kingdoms and dynasties were expanding and contracting, of which we have at best but dim and shifting glimpses."* At one time famous for its consolidated grandeur, the kingdom has been shorn of its vast proportions by losing Burma, while the remainder, representing the Shan element, having been split up for the most part into small principalities, and retaining only a semblance of its ancient dominion in the comparatively effete kingdom of Siam, is now, alas! noted for its decay and disintegration. It was founded by the Shans, once a grand and united people, but at present equally notorious for their pronounced lack of coherence. The kingdom of Pong, as suggested in an Indian journal, is as completely forgotten as the kingdom of Armenia, yet the

* Yule's "Marco Polo." London, 1875.

Shans—like the Armenians, temperate, frugal, and with an aptitude for commerce—still exist and even flourish. It has long passed away, and would probably have been consigned to utter oblivion were it not that sixty years ago Captain Pemberton, at Munipur, discovered valuable Shan records giving an apparently authentic account of its history. The Indian Government published the Report,* but the pamphlet did not see the light apparently for many years, or till it was required to furnish information about our inheritance of Pegu, and afterwards concerning the disputed boundary between Munipur and Burma. It was then reconsigned to its dusty shelf, and since has only been disturbed now and then by enthusiastic students.

Trammelled as the author was by the exigencies of red tape, the Report cannot exactly be called light reading; nor does it attain the standard required by those who desire more solid pabulum served up in an attractive way. Culling therefrom, however, the author's facts and conclusions, and taking advantage of the side-lights thrown thereon by Marco Polo's account of this region, illustrated by Sir Henry Yule's incomparable notes, the writings of recent travellers, and his own personal experience, the present writer ventures to hope that he has succeeded in giving a zest to a subject which, without some such condiment, might be, comparatively speaking, far from appetizing.

When Lord Dalhousie, in 1853, adopted a degree of latitude as the Boundary between British and Burmese possessions, he evidently foresaw that the ultimate annexation of Upper Burma would, sooner or later, obviate the necessity of this imaginary line. Yet three decades afterwards, when this became an accomplished fact, no adequate preparation had been made for encountering our grave responsibilities, in the way of obtaining information about the topographical, ethnological, and administrative details of the country.

* Pemberton's "Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India." Calcutta, 1835.

After a five years' occupancy, our authorities knew very little more of the wild tribes—who, as was their fate under the Burmese régime, were left to seethe in uncouth savagery—than they did half a century ago, when Wilcox, Hannay, Pemberton and Bayfield gave interesting details of their experiences—the great value of which has been gratefully acknowledged by Colonel Woodthorpe and his assistants, who have lately done much in the matter of geography to atone for previous shortcomings.

In the days of old, Pong and, afterwards, Burma were more intimately connected with India than the latter, formerly its western province, is now. The peoples on both sides of the border, whether on peaceful or warlike thoughts intent, seemingly made light of the physical barriers between the two countries, upon which experts nowadays lay so much stress. The remark also applies to a later period, when written records supplanted tradition. Marco Polo, alluding to events which occurred in the 12th century, tells of "the King of Mien* and Bangala, a very puissant prince, with much territory and treasure and people."† This reference is very interesting, as it proves that the appellation, King of Bengal, was not merely local, but was recognised in distant countries, possibly at the court of Kublai Khan at Karakorum, where our great traveller was a distinguished guest. It also furnishes ground for assuming that the charge of intolerable presumption hurled at the head of His Majesty of the Golden Foot by the English Government exposed its ignorance of mediæval Asiatic history.‡

According to the *Maha Rajah Weng*, or Burmese

* The Chinese equivalent of Burma.

† Yule's "Marco Polo," 2nd edition. London, 1875.

‡ Sir A. Phayre, quoting from Lord Hastings' journal, dated 6th September, 1818, records: "The King of Burma favoured us early this year with the obliging requisition that we should cede to him Moorshedabad and the provinces to the east of it, which he deigned to say were all natural dependencies of his throne."—Yule's "Marco Polo," 2nd edition, 1875.

National Chronicle, King Anawrahta, who reigned in the first half of the 11th century, extended his conquests to the frontier of India and married an Indian princess. The son of his successor married another, and their son again eventually became King of Burma—facts corroborative of the alleged close relations between the two countries. Further evidence of this fact is when the initiative came from Bengal. For we learn that, at a period which cannot exactly be determined, Aryans from Gangetic India, led by a prince named Abhi Rajah, formed settlements in the Irawadi Valley, and built therein the city of Tagoung, traditionally the most ancient capital in this region, whose existing ruins corroborate and give colour to the tradition.

After thirty-three kings had reigned in Tagoung, says the Burmese Chronicle, the dynasty came to an end in consequence of the invasion of barbarians, or Shans, from Yunnan—of whom more anon. Mongoloid tribes, who, at a remote period, had left their ancient habitat beyond the snowy range, passing through one or more of “the hundred gates of the Himalayas,” had already arrived in the kingdom of Pong. Owing to Aryan influence, these peoples (then little removed from the barbarism that distinguishes their congeners in remote districts at the present time) obtained a written language of concrete shape by grammatical exegesis, in lieu of an infinity of dialects which made intercourse between the various tribes exceedingly difficult,—were with their conquerors welded into a homogeneous people,—obtained a distinctive name, which in time became national and permanent,—and received an impetus to a higher civilization, which induced them not only to abandon their lawless habits in favour of the arts of love and peace, but also to eschew demonology and embrace a religion which, Sir Edwin Arnold says, “has in it the eternity of a universal hope, the immortality of a boundless love, an indestructible element of boundless faith in final good, and the proudest assertion of human freedom.” *

* Introduction to “Light of Asia.”

The ethnic results of this intimacy are no longer apparent. The same may be said of Mongolian colonization among the Ayrans, between the 8th and 13th centuries, in the shape of Shan settlements in the Brahmaputra Valley. For, losing the qualities that had given them power and prestige, and adopting the language, customs, and religion of the Hindus, they ceased to present the characteristics of an alien race.*

Whatever ethnologists may say to the contrary, the Burmese indignantly repudiate the idea of being of the same origin as people whom they deem little superior to apes. The latter are certainly the antipodes of the Burmans in every respect. But when we know, from the evidence of language and physical characteristics, that ethnologists have much on their side, the outlook seems more hopeful than it would otherwise appear. For if Eastern Aryans could effect such a wonderful transformation with such unpromising material, there is every reason to believe that Western Aryans will succeed likewise. Though the so-called wild tribes have doubtless been influenced by long contact with peoples in higher grades of civilization, they have not however been affected to an appreciable extent. Conservatism in its integrity is their *rôle*. The situation is the more complicated owing to the unsympathetic attitude of the Shans and Burmese, who disdainfully decline to make any attempts towards a better social intercourse, or the promotion of more intimate relationship.

They dispose of them, even in their histories, simply by the term *ayaing*, or wild,† and thus furnish no aid to in-

* Mackenzie's "North-east Frontier of Bengal." Calcutta, 1884.

† Referring to one of the military columns engaged, the *Pioneer* remarks that "its operations lie in an unknown tract among an unknown people, the wildest and most primitive that are to be found in all the tracts between Burma and the Chittagong Plain. Only in Central Africa, and hardly even there after Stanley's journey, would it be possible to find men so ignorant of the resources of civilization as to hover around within thirty yards of regular troops with their bows, having no conception of any missile that would inflict damage at distances longer than the flight of an arrow; and

quirers seeking information about the despised races. We know that, in common with other Tibeto-Burman tribes, the practice of sorcery, divination, and ordeals deeply influences their lives. We are also aware that their religion, which is allied to the Scythic and other branches of the ancient Asiatic faith, comes under the head of the "Heathenism" denounced by King Ethelred: "That is, that they worship the sun or moon, fire or rivers, water, wells, stones, or forest trees of any kind; or love witchcraft, or promote *morth* work of anywise; or by blot or *fyrht* perform anything pertaining to these illusions." But we have got much to learn concerning their physical and moral attributes, their customs and the affinities of their different dialects—a critical examination of which will probably aid us in arriving at reasonable conclusions regarding their archaic history.*

Divination by fowls' bones is a special feature in their social and religious systems. Indeed, they never commit themselves to the most ordinary undertakings without consulting this oracle. Though they do not actually consider fowls sacred, as, no doubt, their ancestors did, they sometimes object to allow them to be killed for food: much to the discomfort of travellers belonging to a civilization which sees no harm in doing what to the orthodox Singpo is *anathema* and *maran-atha*. The potency of the Indian rupee, in such a crisis, they unhappily experience to be a thing of nought.†

then, when they found by experience their mistake, collecting in groups at 200 and 300 yards, never imagining that that could be within the zone of effective fire."

* See paper by present writer entitled, "Burmese Border Tribes and Trade Routes," in *Blackwood*, for September, 1886.

† In all parts of Asia and Europe fowls, at one time, were regarded superstitiously; but subsequent ages modified the veneration in which they were formerly held, and went so far as to utilize them as food, just as the South Sea Islanders utilized their missionaries, when their first feelings of reverence wore off. Divination by bones, termed *Sputulancy* by Gaule, in his "Magastromancers Posed and Puzzled," was prevalent in Britain within comparatively recent times. So late as the beginning of the fourteenth

The practice of sorcery, described by Marco Polo as pertaining in what were formerly the northern districts of Pong, is identical with what obtains among the Kakhyens, Singpos, and cognate tribes, as we learn from Anderson, Sladen, and others. His quaintest and most telling descriptions thereof are in connection with the inhabitants of the Zardandan province—who, according to Sir H. Yule, are Kakhyens—and the Dagroians, who, for all that we know to the contrary, may have been Lushais, as the “wicked custom” of cannibalism, for which the former were notorious, has been told, nearly as Marco tells us, of tribes belonging to the same family in Arakan, or the western borders of Pong. “Let me tell you,” remarks the great traveller in reference to Zardandan, “there is never a leech; but when any one is ill they send for their magicians; that is to say, the devil-conjurers, who,” after a rough diagnosis of their patient’s malady, “incontinently begin playing on their instruments, and singing and dancing; and the conjurers dance to such a pitch that at last one of them shall fall to the ground lifeless, like a dead man. And then the devil entereth into his body. And when his comrades see him in this plight, they begin to put questions to him about the sick man’s ailment. The magician’s reply, it appears, was in accordance with his notion as to the probable issue of the complaint. If the case seemed to him hopeless, he would declare that ‘such and such a spirit has been meddling with the man, for that he hath angered the spirit and done it some despite, so that the spirit will not pardon him on any

century, people were arraigned before the Ecclesiastical Courts in Ireland for sacrificing red cocks to their familiar spirits. At this very day divination by fowls’ bones is commonly practised at dinner tables without let or hindrance. The *Spectator* thus refers to this custom: “I have seen a man in love turn pale and lose his appetite from the plucking of a merrythought.” Mr. Pennant gives an account of divination in Scotland called *Sleinanachd*, or reading the *Speal* or bladebone of a shoulder of mutton, by which experts were supposed to be able to indicate future events (“South Sea Bubbles,” by the Earl and the Doctor; “Kilkenniensis Annales Hiburnia;” and Brand’s “Popular Antiquities,” iii.).

account. . . . But if he is to get better," continues Polo, "the answer will be that they are to bring two sheep, or maybe three; and to brew ten or twelve jars of drink, very costly and abundantly spiced. . . . And then those things are to be offered in sacrifice to such and such a spirit, whose name is given. And they are to bring so many conjurers and so many ladies, and the business is to be done with great singing of lauds, and with many lights and store of perfumes. And when all that the spirit commanded has been done, with great ceremony, then it shall be announced that the man is pardoned and shall be speedily cured. And when at length they receive such a reply, they announce that it is all made up with the spirit, and that he is propitiated, and they fall to eating with great joy and mirth, and he who had been lying lifeless on the ground gets up and takes his share. So when they have all eaten and drunken, every man departs home, and presently the sick man gets sound and well."

The responsibilities of the Zardandan sorcerers were mild in comparison with those of their Dagroian *confrères*. For when the latter decided that the patient's case was hopeless, they caused "certain judges of theirs" to do the sick person to death by suffocation. "And when he is dead, they have him cooked, and gather together all the dead man's kin and eat him. And I assure you that they suck the very bones till not a particle of marrow is left in them; for they say that if any nourishment remained in the bones, this would breed worms, and then the worms would die for want of food, and the death of those worms would be laid to the charge of the deceased man's soul. And so they eat him up stump and rump. . . . It is," as Marco sententiously concluded, "a very evil custom and a parlous."

Numa Pompilius, seven hundred years before Christ, was the first king, it is said, to officially recognise augury as a profession. It is probable, however, that the augurs of Pong exercised their calling with the approbation of their

rulers, when Saul * consulted the Witch of Endor three hundred years before Numa, and perhaps as far back as the promulgation of the Jewish law anent sorcery nearly fifteen centuries before the Christian era. All the world over, notably among the Greeks and Romans, a certain discipline was considered indispensable to give the power of interpreting the signs of the gods its full development. The rude tribes in all parts of Farther India are to this day no exceptions to this rule. Sir E. Sladen tells us in his official narrative of the expedition to Western China, led by himself, that any one among the Kakhyens who aspired to the dignity of medium or necromancer, must climb a ladder with rungs formed of naked swords, edges upwards, and sit on a platform thick set with spikes, without personal inconvenience, before he passes his examination and acquires credit—verily, a practical test for convincing the most sceptical.

The province of Zardandan, meaning gold teeth, was so called from the highly eccentric custom which distinguished its inhabitants of casing their teeth with the most precious of metals. Whether the practice fell into disuse from its manifest inconvenience, or the people, having since been absorbed in the Chinese population, have voted it out of fashion, does not appear; the fact is, it no longer exists. That Marco did not invent a fable, nor was a victim to a hoax, is proved by Chinese annals, as well as by Klaproth and other writers.

The men of Zardandan, say our travellers, "are all gentlemen in their fashion, and do nothing but go to the wars, or go hunting and hawking. The ladies do all the business, aided by the slaves who have been taken in war."† Marco's pungent description is true of their alleged congeners, who

* Josephus, referring to Solomon, who was born the year that Saul died, says: "God also enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons, which is a science useful and sanative to men."—Whiston's "Josephus." London.

† Yule's "Marco Polo," 2nd edition. London, 1875.

are as much gentlemen as their ancestors were, preferring, like many members of more advanced societies, to remain idle when they can get slaves and "ladies" to work for them. The system of slavery, however, that exists among them, in which hired labour is unknown, compares favourably with what obtains in some "civilized" countries in their treatment of paid slaves; for these "uncivilized" peoples extend to their retainers all the rights and privileges enjoyed by members of the family circle. The non-existence of leeches among the Zardandans applies to all kindred tribes, including the Burmese, though, as already noticed, the latter disclaim the imputed kinship. The Burmese, 'tis true, have their *Sayahs*, or doctors; but these, when their nostrums fail, gravely inform their patients that the devil-conjurers' aid must be invoked, and thus confirm the suggestion as to identity of origin.

Though Burmese history is discreetly silent in reference to collisions with the Chinese, prior to the war 1284 A.D., which necessitated the abandonment of Pugan, their then capital, we have the concurrent testimony of Marco Polo and the Chinese annals relating to a battle—disastrous to the Burmese—having been fought between the Tartars and the Burmans on the plain of Vochan—Yunchang—the capital of Zardandan, then as notorious for the "naughty ways" of its men, as it is now celebrated for the beauty and fairness of its women. When the King of Mien and Bangala "heard that the host of the great Kaan was at Vochan, he said to himself that it behoved him to go against them with such a force as would ensure his cutting off the whole of them, insomuch that the great Kaan would be sorry ever again to send an army thither (to his frontier)."* So he got together, relates Marco, an army consisting of two thousand elephants, each carrying a dozen or so well-armed men, besides cavalry and infantry numbering sixty thousand. "In short, he equipped a fine force, as well

* Yule's "Marco Polo," 2nd edition. London, 1875.

befitted such a puissant prince. It was indeed a host capable of doing great things." The Tartars are said to have had only twelve thousand men to oppose the Burmese troops, yet they showed no dismay, and valiantly advanced to the encounter; but as they could not get their horses to face the elephants—beasts they had never seen before—they became temporarily disorganized. Their "captain," however, was equal to the occasion, for he dismounted his soldiers and made them ply their arrows so deftly and strenuously against the pachyderms as to cause them to turn tail, and so to create much confusion in the Burmese ranks. He then took advantage of this manœuvre to cause his men to remount and charge the demoralized enemy. "And then the battle began to wage furiously with sword and mace. Right fiercely did the two hosts rush together, and deadly were the blows exchanged. . . . Then might you see swashing blows dealt with sword and mace; then might you see knights, and horses, and men-at-arms go down; then might you see arms and hands and legs and heads hewn off; and besides the dead that fell, many a wounded man that never rose again for the sore press there was. The din and uproar was so great that God might have thundered and no man heard it! Great was the medley, and dire and parlous was the fight that was fought on both sides; but the Tartars had the best of it, so thus it was that the king aforesaid was defeated by the sagacity and superior skill of the Tartars."*

It is now impossible to determine how the various races that inhabited Pong in the Zenith of its greatness were distributed. It is, however, probable that the capital of the kingdom, the metropolitan districts, the mid-Irawadi riparian provinces† were peopled for the most part by Shans, while various rude tribes, as is now the case, occupied the country between these last and India.

* Yule's "Marco Polo," 2nd edition. London, 1875.

† The existing Shan States and Siam.

Kakhyens have, however, managed to wedge themselves in between Bamó and the *Koh-Shan-pyi*, or Nine Shan States on the Chinese frontier, which have long preserved their independence in spite of revolutions around them. An insignificant number of this tribe have thus been able to dominate the caravan routes between what used, within the memory of the present generation, to be an important *entrepôt* of trade between Burma and South-Western China, and in the expectation of whose revival several British Chambers of Commerce have been all agog for many years. They also prevent the welding of the connecting link between the Anglo-Chinese systems, intended to put London and Pekin in communication *via* Calcutta. Acting loyally in the spirit of Lord Rosebery's Convention of 24th July, 1886, the Chinese have extended their western line to Yungchang or Vochan, about thirty miles from the Yunnan-Burmese frontier, and are prepared to push it thereto when the English do their part. Our wires stretch as far westward as Bamó only. Two-thirds of the remaining gap for which we are responsible is occupied by those delightful Shans who gave Sladen such cordial welcome, the other third by these hitherto impracticable Kakhyens. This state of affairs reflects little credit on the responsible English authorities, who could easily subsidize these inveterate caterans, if they refrain from assuming effective control over their country. The Singpos and others have also jostled the Shans all along what is now the northern frontier of Burma, excepting in isolated places, and driven them into the arms of the Burmese. The latter, while influencing them and being influenced in turn, owing to community of interest in various ways, have to a certain extent interfered with their pronounced proclivity for colonizing the Irawadi Valley, and driven them eastward to the Salwen and Mekhong basins, which have been almost exclusively occupied by Shans for ages. No effort should be spared to encourage this industrious and enterprising people, not only to follow the bent of their inclina-

tions, but also to resume their ancient *habitat* on the frontier, and thus improve the Burmese as well as stiffen the small colonies of their own people, which, bending somewhat towards, but not broken by, the flood of Singpo barbarism, still manage to eke out an unsatisfactory existence, surrounded by unsympathetic tribes. This, the most widely dispersed nation in Farther India, invariably Buddhist, always partially civilized, and everywhere retaining the same language, with little variety, constituting a fringe to our land-locked frontiers of Burma, excepting where they impinge on Bengal, still keeping touch with the ancient cradle of their race in Szechuan, can, according to Monsieur Terrien de Lacouperie, boast of a civilization dating back twenty-three centuries before Christ. Their career since they left their ancient *habitat* has been not a little chequered. Declining to acquiesce in the Chinese policy of absorption, whose aim was to efface the external characteristics of their neighbours by superior energy and civilization, the Shans were forced out of their original dwelling-places into Yunnan, in the western portion of which they established, and afterwards lost, a kingdom, whose capital was Talifu, two decades ago notable as the headquarters of the Panthé or Mohammedan temporary sovereignty, and the horrible massacre which occurred when it was taken by the Chinese in 1873. As this kingdom was called Maung by the Chinese, it was, says Yule, probably identical with Muang Marong, which Pong was sometimes called, after its capital. This Muang Marong, identified by Pemberton with Mogaung on the Upper Irawadi, in days of yore, as metropolis of an important empire, was probably an attractive place of residence—possibly the Paris of Farther India! It has since, however, dwindled into an insignificant village, visited periodically by Chinese traders in search of jade, and is noted only for an intolerable dulness, which recommended it to the late Burmese régime as a suitable place of exile for political prisoners. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

The irruption of the Shans from Yunnan, causing the overthrow of the Aryan monarchy already alluded to, must have occurred long before the one in the first century, mentioned in the chronicle preserved at Manipur; indeed, from the indication of language alone, Professor Max Müller is of opinion that their ancestors were the first, among transgangesic peoples, to immigrate southwards from their original tents in Central Asia and settle along the rivers Mekong, Menam, Irawadi, and Brahmaputra. The Shan dominion was gradually extended in the fluvial region of Indo-China, and eventually expanded into an important empire. Even within comparatively speaking recent times, when Kublai Khan despatched an expedition against Pagan in the 13th century, Shans predominated in the kingdom of Burma, and many of that race acquired great influence therein. Of these the most noted were three brothers, governors of important districts near the capital, who owed their position entirely to royal favour. Unmindful of this obligation, they elected to worship the rising sun, and on the fall of the Pagan monarchy, which inevitably followed the Mogul invasion and the flight of the king, used their power to arrange for the subordination of Burma to China. A son of the absconded monarch, 'tis true, nominally reigned, but by a plot, contrived by the Shan brethren, was seized and forced to become a monk; in other words, to renounce the world. He having appealed to the Emperor of China, as Suzerain, a Mongol army was sent to restore him. The Shans, acting on a suggestion in a song sung at a dramatical performance, killed the king, and, showing his head to the Mongol general in proof of the collapse of the dynasty, "squared" that official with valuable gifts, and persuaded him to acquiesce in an arrangement allowing them to rule the country as a triumvirate. This story is capped by another ridiculous version of the same event related by Marco Polo. "You see," says that distinguished narrator, "at the court of the great Khan there was a great number of gleemen and jugglers, and he said

to them one day that he wanted them to go and conquer the aforesaid province of Mien, and that he would give them a good captain to lead them and other good aid. And they replied they would be delighted. So the emperor caused them to be fitted out with all that an army requires, and gave them a captain and a body of men-at-arms to help them; and so they set out and marched until they came to the country of Mien. And they did conquer the whole of it!"

The Shan brothers, in full accord, ruled the country wisely and well for several years, making Myinsaing their metropolis. The second of the trio then died, the others quarrelled, and the younger poisoned his elder brother. On acquiring full power, the usurper built a new capital close to his former one, which he called Panya. His son, whom he had made ruler of the province of Sagain, declared himself independent, and established a separate kingdom without practical remonstrance on the part of his father. After six kings had reigned in the former kingdom, and seven in the latter, both dynasties came to an end, and were incorporated with the Burmese dominions. Both Burma and China essayed to force the Northern Shan States—which had hitherto managed somehow to remain independent—to acknowledge their suzerainty; but the Shan confederacy was, for a long time, sufficiently powerful to resist coercion. China took notice of this stubbornness by invading Pong* in the 14th century, and taking Muang Marong, its capital, after the horrors of an Asiatic siege which lasted two years; she did not, however, retain possession of it, annexation not being her policy. Burma, involved in many struggles with the Shans, had dwindled in territory and power; but she knew how to wait, and, seizing the opportunity of internal dissensions among the chiefs, succeeded in annexing these States.

Demoralized by the continuous and persistent attacks

* Pemberton's "Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India." Calcutta, 1835.

of their powerful neighbours, and obtaining no protection from their conquerors, the Shans at last succumbed to the pressure of the Mongoloid tribes that hemmed them in on every side, and disappeared from that region.

To bring the Chins, Lushais, Kakhyens, Singpos, *et hoc genus omne*, to their proper bearings, the English Government seemingly abandoned the policy of conciliation which was found so effective in converting the equally barbarous and impracticable Hill Karens into peaceable and loyal subjects of her Majesty the Queen-Empress. It appears indeed to have taken a leaf out of the Burmese book of diplomacy, and even to have out-Heroded Herod by sending expeditions from opposite sides for the purpose of surrounding them and leaving no chance of escape. Diplomacy, however, 'tis said, has been extended to the utmost limits of forbearance, in unsuccessful endeavours to persuade them to relinquish their "naughty ways;" and so it was decided to supplement the *suaviter in modo* by *fortiter in re* in the shape of a show of force, in order to compel them to listen to the voice of reason. The Government *laches*, in so long neglecting to remedy this unsatisfactory state of affairs by indoctrinating these tribes with a proper sense of English justice and of the blessings of the *pax Britannica*, have now recoiled on themselves, enhanced by the inherent difficulties of the situation. Instead, therefore, of carrying fire and sword among them and then leaving them to their own devices, it seems incumbent on the "Powers that be" to resolve on a new departure, and themselves pose as exemplars thereof. The remark particularly applies to those on whose proper management, in developing this region, so much depends. The necessity of making the country a pleasant place in which to live should be specially impressed on them, so as to attract immigration and capital, and also of showing that it is preferable to enjoy the fruits of honest labour rather than incur the risks and troubles incidental to the position of "gentlemen" in Marco Polo's acceptation of the word.

To do this effectually, we should throw plenty of money into the country, and prove in the most practical way that investments in English rupees are more convenient, safer, and more easily realized than those in flesh and blood. Above all, to deal with them generously and justly, and thus avoid the odium incurred by our officials during the first Burmese war, who after getting the border tribes to work for them in making roads and opening the hill passes, forcing their enemies to emancipate their slaves, and cajoling their friends to do likewise on the strength of receiving liberal compensation, shamefully broke their bargain and left them in the lurch.*

Railway communication has been established between Rangoon and Mandalay, resulting in good government, prosperous content, and other adjuncts of civilization, in lieu of anarchy, dissatisfaction, and semi-barbarism. A goodly provision has further been made in the Government Budget for the extension of the line from the "City of Gems" to Bamó, while a branch line will be carried into the Shan States. With Burma thus advancing in giant strides, achieving results more satisfactory than the most enthusiastic believers in its capabilities ever dreamt of; with its rude tribes made more amenable to the usages of civilization; with the hitherto disunited congeries of Shan States amalgamated under the auspices of a strong, progressive, and friendly Government; and with Siam giving evident signs of progress, there is every reason to believe that, before very long, what constituted the ancient kingdom of Pong, will attain to far more than its pristine splendour.

A. R. MACMAHON.

* See writer's remarks regarding the political dishonesty and lamentable want of foresight displayed by the English authorities on the occasion in question, in *Blackwood* for September, 1886.

PONDICHERY FOR HELIGOLAND IN 1871;
AND HELIGOLAND CEDED TO GERMANY
IN 1890.

HEARING so much of Heligoland at the present busy time, when dark Africa seems to be occupying more attention than brighter or more civilized Asia, and the race for colonial power is very strong among the European nations, as regards the now famous island in the North Sea, it is natural to go back to the days of our youth; and, seizing a volume of Campbell's Poems, we may look over a few of his spirited odes, among them that "To the Germans," while Ehrenbreitstein, the "broad stone of honour," is no longer the "camp of slaves," and the weird poem of the "Death-boat," the scene coming vividly before us, with—

"The band of cadaverous smile
Seen ploughing the night-surge of Heligo's isle."

Now romance is changed to stern reality; and the public interest in, and debates in the House of Commons on, the island of Heligoland, bring us to a later period of life, June, 1871, when, after writing on the French possessions in India, including a sketch of Pondicherry—the little Paris of the East, or *Pont déchiré*, like our Pontefract, and styled by the natives of Southern India *Piudicheri*—public attention was drawn to the fair little isle which has become the subject of debate in June, 1890, along with British and German progress in Africa, and especially the British protectorate of Zanzibar.

By the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Denmark, Heligoland was ours "in perpetuity" (1807). During the first week of June, 1871, a rumoured cession

of the island to Germany brought forth some remarks from Sir J. Hay in the House of Commons: "It would be in the recollection of the House, that at the time the treaty of peace between France and Germany was in progress a statement appeared in the newspapers that Pondicherry was about to be ceded by France to Germany; and within the last few weeks statements had been made in some of the German papers, that Heligoland was to be added to Germany." Viscount Enfield informed the gallant member, that "No proposal had been made for the cession of Heligoland to Germany." But, although no correspondence had yet passed on the subject, it was thought quite possible that the occupation of this island had for some time been an important subject with the acute and far-seeing Prince Bismarck—before, on account of Prussia's triumph over Denmark, and now, more than ever, since the Emperor and his mighty Chancellor had become lords of the ascendant. Of Pondicherry it was said, in February, 1871, that it was to have been exchanged for Heligoland. Although it seemed politically necessary for us to retain the island, yet, for the sake of our gaining long-coveted Pondicherry,—which, with Chandernagore, the great Dupleix hoped would one day supplant Madras and Calcutta, reducing them to their original state of fishing towns,—and the other French settlements in India, the bargain might have been struck. However, it was officially stated that Germany did not intend to acquire, through peace with France, any possessions in "India, Asia, or any Transatlantic country" whatever. Still, at such a critical time, one could not help thinking that a good opportunity was afforded to negotiate at once for the French possessions in India, especially as it was believed they did not nearly pay their expenses. We further argued: If German unity was ever to be advanced by the possession of Heligoland, why not advance British in the East by Pondicherry? And we ventured to add: "We must avoid even the shadow of the possibility of revolution and disorder through the agency

of any European power in Hindostan. And no European power should have any influence there save our own."

Towards the end of 1871 (September), "a Letter" was published in London, addressed to "His Grace the Duke of Argyll, K.T., Secretary of State for India," at the conclusion of which similar remarks to the above appeared; so, notwithstanding that all eyes at present are turned on Africa and Germany, on the great traveller, Stanley, and his book, and on Heligoland, it may interest our readers to give portions of the "Letter" in question, re-perusing which, after nearly twenty years, only makes us feel the more regret that in 1871 the French did not give up Pondicherry to the Germans, and that we did not then get it in exchange for Heligoland. The matter of our purchasing it, with the other French possessions in India, was the second theme for consideration. And it is on this important point the "Letter" chiefly dwells:—

"Even if, as we all trust is (or will soon be) the case with England, India is impregnable and invasion impossible, it is useful and interesting to extend our knowledge on certain points, whereby we may save ourselves much trouble in the future; and the idea should ever be in our minds—especially in these days of European political giants—that there is a possibility of our one day losing India, which, from its vast extent, and the variety of its races, requires infinitely greater means to render it, and to keep it impregnable, or secure from invasion, than our sea-girt British shores.

"One need not be an alarmist to think it impossible not to agree with the spirit of Burke's remark, that it is better to be laughed at for too much caution, than be ruined by an over self-confident security! 'To think is to act,' as a shrewd American essayist puts it, should be the motto of every true Briton in these uncertain times; but the means of action should ever be at hand. . . . On all Indian subjects, the English mind wants a good rousing; and, above all, as was truly remarked in rebellious 1857, 'Englishmen should be asked to recognise the great fact

that India is ours, and ours alone.' And it was well said, with reference to the real value of our grand acquisition, 'That the study of India in England will be thoroughly commenced when, by some act of folly, we shall have gambled India away.' Its real value would truly be felt after the loss.

"With this view, even apparently small matters about the country become of importance: from trivial causes, history teaches us, the greatest events have sprung; and if the French holding possessions in India be considered a small matter, still let us look to it, in case it may become a great one. Although the possessions are small, still, in a political sense, they are great; we see at home every day what injury a small band of vain, infamous democrats can inflict on the minds of uneducated and naturally well-intentioned men; and who can say that the spirit of communism may not at any moment rage at Pondicherry? Were the flame to spread, the injury done to the native mind would be incalculable. . . .

"Considering the new state of Europe, when Emperors are meeting, and wily diplomatists are discussing 'the maintenance of European peace,' and the 'preservation of the present distribution of Europe' (*not of Asia!*) 'from disturbance,' and Russian activity in the East is becoming proverbial; the town of Pondicherry, the miniature Paris of Southern India, with its beautiful roadstead, may, at no distant period, cause us some anxiety—a fleet hovering about, within sixty miles of Madras, may be Russian, or it may be German—and rouse us into action. Likening, for a moment, our Indian dominions to Achilles, I cannot help thinking that, before a determined enemy, the exposed and vulnerable heel of Pondicherry (or even of Madras itself) might bring about our ruin, or the downfall of our power in Asia! . . .

"Ever holding the view of Colonel Stewart, an acute political writer, who remarked in 1826, that 'we must look upon our situation in India as a permanent one, and make

permanent provision for tranquillity of possession,' I think the time has now arrived when we might with propriety make an attempt to purchase the French territory in India. My chief reasons for thinking such a step politic are :—

" 1. France gains little or nothing by her possessions in the East.

" 2. The present financial condition of France might induce her to accept an offer for them made by the British Government. At such a critical period in the history of the great French nation, their *amour propre* would not be hurt by such an offer, as the bargain at least would help France while she issued regenerated from her recent 'great trials.' Also, though in a small measure, it would strengthen her hands at home, and save her the chance of much future expense and anxiety.

" 3. Our possession of these points of land would materially tend to complete the unity of our splendid dominion in the East, and prevent any future political complications, and lessen the danger of attack, should Europe again be involved in war; for 'the pride of conquest,' if not 'the insolence of the fortunate,' may not always stop at home; and the establishment of colonial power by a new Empire may be sought for.

" 4. But, ignoring a possible desire of a new European Power to gain a footing in India, the formation of 'a great unity' on the Continent of Europe, at present going on and fast tending towards completion, would seem to point to the necessity of our completing the 'unity' of our Indian Empire, which can never be done while a fickle and revolutionary people,—whose recent examples of rebellion and disorder at home have doubtless been much studied by the natives, who, in the present transition state of the Hindu mind, are not slow at forming dangerous conclusions,—hold possessions there.

" 5. Any steps submitted to your Grace to strengthen the coast and harbour defences of India must be materially aided by the possession of Pondicherry, which would add

very considerably to the power of our necessarily small European force in the South of the Peninsula.

"6. Supposing the Germans, by any chance of war, or power of diplomacy, were ever to get hold of the points now occupied by the French, in the science of languages, at least, Greek might perhaps, *after* 'the tug of war,' meet Greek! Not long ago I read that a Prussian Professor of Sanscrit, Dr. Albrecht Weber, made a communication to a German paper under the title of 'Hindoo Opinions respecting the Franco-German War.' A native Hindu was of opinion that 'both the French, as well as the Germans, are civilized, have sent out missions to evangelize India, have carried on trade with the East, and are noble in their own sphere of existence. Germany is, in fact, least known to our people. The name of the French is more popular, because they have struggled with the English people for lordship over India, have won small possessions on Indian ground, and thus, out of India's countless millions, possess some thousands of its inhabitants as subjects. Beyond this, however, nothing can be said of any special claim on the part of the French upon our sympathies. The Germans, on the other hand, are *more Hindoo in their philosophical turn of mind and in their feelings than any other European people.*' There is some truth in the following remark, as doubtless your Grace is well aware: 'They have brought us to honour, in that they have brought the Sanscrit literature to honour, and given an impulse to the revival of this study such as no other nation has yet done.' Again, 'The furtherance of a knowledge of Sanscrit, and therewith of everything that is Indian, is bound up with the victory of Germany.' Truly this is an original view of the whole matter.

"7. Pondicherry has so often been given back by us to the French, that they might now wish to part with it. As before remarked, their *amour propre* could not be hurt. It is useless to defend Madras, if an important position below is to be held by a foreign power!"

In the foregoing remarks of a former eventful period, the writer forces us, in 1890, to reflect on three important points—the wonderfully recuperative financial power of the French nation ; their race for colonial supremacy,—on the whole a gigantic failure,—in Cochin-China or Tonquin ; and the far from satisfactory state of our local defences in India, especially at the Presidency cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. As to the French in India, they are going on in their, for the present, quiet way at Pondicherry and Chandernagore, while we have arranged the cession of Heligoland to Germany without receiving any equivalent advantage in Europe or Asia. True enough, the island is “not of very great intrinsic value to either England or Germany” ; but, if eventually fortified, it will become a very strong German position, especially in any meditated undertaking against the power of Russia. In the event of a European war, the combined fleets engaged will, doubtless, have no difficulty in entering and commanding the Baltic, which could not otherwise have been so well effected. And not the least strange part of the whole matter is, that we have gone on for all those eighty years without the fortification of such a strong British position. When the cession of Heligoland has, by the consent of the British Parliament, fairly taken place, Germany will have decidedly gained a triumph she has long coveted ; and it is pleasing to think that the British nation, now on such good, and, it is to be hoped, lasting, terms with the great Empire,—the “fatherland,” as we all know, being the country which invented gunpowder, clock-making, and printing,—has been able to assist in cementing such a desirable cordiality.

But the grand triumph, according to the Anglo-German Agreement, is the territory acquired by Germany in East Africa, “the beginning of a magnificent Crown colony.”

Between England and Germany in Africa, philanthropists need have no fear now of a systematic revival of slavery. As Campbell sings in his famous “Ode” :—

"No! the clock ye framed to tell,
By its sound, the march of time;
Let it clang oppression's knell
O'er your clime—o'er your clime!"

The statistics of Heligoland, of course, fall very far short in interest to those of Pondicherry, in the south of India; and if this Niobe of the French possessions in the East had been ceded to us in exchange for the European island, it would have had the good effect of causing wonder and astonishment among Britons when they became acquainted with all that has occurred there during the last 150 years, about which, even in this age of education and enlightenment, they are, for the most part, supremely ignorant; not one in a thousand knowing that, after various unsuccessful attempts at settlement in India, François Martin, in 1683, purchased Pondicherry (then a small village) and a certain portion of the adjacent territory.

Heligoland, in the North Sea, was captured by us from Denmark in 1807—a remarkable year in the first half of the present century, and in some events resembling the early months of 1890.

After the death of the great statesman, William Pitt (1806), as an inevitable result, had destroyed the Cabinet, there was every prospect of having a ministry that had been styled by anticipation, "All the talents." Twenty years before, Mr. Pitt had been induced to "issue a summons to the Privy Council to examine, as a Board of Trade, the state of our commercial relations with Africa." This "board," with the early philanthropic labours of Clarkson and Wilberforce, may be said to have heralded the eventual abolition of the slave-trade, which took place, just after Fox's death, in February, 1807. And in this year, also, it seems first to have been discovered among the great nations of the earth, that the laws of trade might one day prove too strong for the decrees of despotism. And Napoleon was in all his greatness when Heligoland (Holy Land) came into our possession. In 1878, it was the most

renowned of the North Sea bathing-places, with a population of about 2,000. Steamboats ran between Heligoland and Hamburg. In 1873 the value of imports from the United Kingdom was only £55; but the revenue in 1875 was over £9,000, and the expenditure about £1,000 less. It may be interesting to the fair sex to learn, that among the exports were ladies' feathers, hats, and muffs, for keeping the old trade in which they must now look to Germany.

It was doubted by the press of Hamburg whether the Heligolanders rejoiced at the prospect of German rule, especially fearing, as they do, the imposition of heavy taxes; but, as there is much division of opinion on the subject, time alone will show what is really the case. Of course, France is chagrined and disappointed by the arrangement, as she is also, and naturally enough, by the agreement which has allowed Germany to march with some strength into the vast political arena of African affairs. Territorial rights in Africa—of which the highest authorities think England has taken the lion's share—will occupy a conspicuous place in European political controversy for many years to come. And, with reference to France, Egypt will play an important part in the new game of speculation. With regard to our acknowledged supremacy in Asia—especially the very serious matter of our grand highway to India—an acute Anglo-Indian journalist publishes some telling remarks. The French must "exclude from their calculation the hope of getting England to agree to any infringement of the supreme position she has acquired in Egypt, a matter with regard to which the Germans will, in view of their large African interests, probably have a good deal to say." And the French Government seeming inclined to use to their advantage the diplomatic situation, from the now accomplished fact of a British protectorate of Zanzibar, it is said that "Russia has advised the Paris statesmen to stand on their treaty rights, and insist on the neutrality of the Suez Canal. This would be an "important concession" with a vengeance! As ob-

served in the last number of this journal (Art. "*Do ut Des*"), it is only of late years that the German Empire has "embarked on a course of colonial adventure." An important quotation, brought forward in the same article, should ever be kept in mind: "Five years ago Germany did not possess a single interest in any part of East Africa—England was supreme. For twenty years England had worked for and helped onward the growing trade and civilization of Zanzibar. . . . Travel in the interior became comparatively easy and free from danger." Now, in the onward colonial progress, there appears to be nothing in Africa which can disturb or destroy the amity which has existed for centuries, and the interests of the two great branches of the Teutonic stock. It may be safely affirmed at the present time that, so far as Africa is concerned, there is ample room for both nations. Almost simultaneous with Lord Salisbury's Anglo-German Agreement, the important announcement came from Brussels, that, at the Anti-Slavery Conference, the views of Holland now harmonized with those of the other Powers on the grand subject which has so disgraced mankind, and which, perhaps, has been the cause of more eloquence than any other in the nineteenth century. It is curious to read that the Heligoland clause of the agreement is valued much more by the Germans than any other of its stipulations in their favour. They have long regarded the little island as the "Pearl of the North Sea," although they did not seem to care about the Paris of the East—Pondicherry. In addition to their being so much gratified with the result of the negotiations, Austria has evinced satisfaction. As was to be expected, Denmark, from whom we took the island, is sorely disappointed at the cession of Heligoland. At a former Russo-Danish family council, it is said, a plan was originated by which various exchanges were in view, including that of the now more than ever famous island. We have certainly, through Lord Salisbury, obliged Germany to the utmost limits, both in Europe and Africa.

There is a fine passage in *Le Temps* which we are tempted to quote, as strongly bearing on the political situation at present: "When we think of all the glorious memories connecting equatorial Africa with the history of English explorers; when we consider of how recent date are Germany's territorial claims in that region, and when we dwell upon the dangers of solutions which cut in two the British possessions in Africa, we come to the conclusion that it must have been for very powerful reasons that Lord Salisbury decided to make such a large allowance to Germany." Of course, our readers have made themselves acquainted with the whole "Agreement," so there is no use in reproducing it here. And the able and independent young Emperor of Germany has, we believe, highly approved of it. And thus, "subject to the consent of the British Parliament, England cedes to His Majesty, the German Emperor, the island of Heligoland," at which the Imperial Government have already decided to construct a torpedo harbour. We may conclude this brief article by remarking, that although everything at present seems well placed by the Government, there are breakers ahead, among which appear to be the fact of some of its members being not very well disposed to the cession of Heligoland; and again, that should there be a petition against the cession by the Heligolandians, it might be supported by the Earl of Roseberry in the House of Lords and Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons. And it may be of interest to some of our readers, who have watched the debates in the House of Commons during the last twenty years, that on no other occasion than the present has a debate in the British Senate on ceding or giving up British territory been accorded the same attention, or so many questions asked, to make the path plain. In June, 1871, the debate in Parliament, as will have been seen, was a very slight one. In 1890, it may be the debate on what Talleyrand was pleased to style "the beginning of the end!"

The following article from *The Diplomatic Fly-Sheet* may be quoted in connection with the preceding article :—

HELIGOLAND.

AN EXCRESCENCE ADROITLY REMOVED FROM THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

On 14th June a Despatch was addressed by Lord Salisbury to Sir E. Malet, chiefly respecting the affairs of East Africa. On the 17th it was published as a Parliamentary paper, and on the 18th it appeared in *The Times*. From this Despatch we extract the following passages :—

“Upon the East Coast (of Africa), the German Government has agreed to surrender all the territory it occupies or claims north of the British sphere of influence. This will place under British control the Sultanate of Witu, with the Islands of Manda and Patta, and the territory up to the Juba, of which the German Government have recently assumed the Protectorate, comprising a coast-line of more than two hundred miles. The effect of this arrangement will be, that, except as far as the Congo State is concerned, there will be no European competitor to British influence between the 1st degree of S. latitude and the borders of Egypt, along the whole of the country which lies to the south and west of the Italian Protectorate in Abyssinia and Gallaland.

“England will further assume, with the consent of the Sultan of Zanzibar (which has been given), the exclusive Protectorate over that Sultanate, including the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba; and this assumption will be made with the full concurrence of Germany. The direct control and extensive influence which this arrangement will confer upon Great Britain will furnish a powerful assistance to the efforts which are being made for the suppression of the Maritime Slave Trade, as well as for the extirpation of Slavery itself. England will give her assistance to Germany to obtain from the Sultan a recognition of her occupation of the present German coast-line on the payment of an equitable indemnity for the amount of customs duties surrendered by him.

“On the other hand, Her Majesty's Government are prepared to propose a Bill to Parliament which shall transfer the Island of Heligoland to Germany. It was probably retained by this country in 1814 because of its proximity to Hanover, the Crown of which was then united to that of England. It has, however, never been treated by the British Government as having any defensive or military value, nor has any attempt or proposal been made to arm it as a fortress. Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that it would constitute a heavy addition to the responsibilities of the Empire in time of war, without contributing to its security. There is no reason, therefore, for refusing to make it part of a territorial arrangement, if the motives for doing so are adequate.

"It appears to Her Majesty's Government that the extension of British influence and dominion upon the East Coast of Africa, which will be the result of the arrangements which I have explained to your Excellency, is a sufficient inducement to the Government of this country to allow the island in question to be joined to the Empire of Germany. Conditions will be made securing all the inhabitants of the island, now living, from compulsory naval or military service, and also providing for the continuance of the present Customs Tariff for a term of twenty years."

We expressed at the time our deep regret at the connivance of the British Government with that of Germany in the aggression of certain German Colonizers upon the Sultan of Zanzibar; a connivance of which it is impossible to acquit Lord Salisbury, although he only continued arrangements commenced by Lord Granville. But we are glad to acknowledge that though Lord Salisbury did allow the Germans to dispossess British subjects, and to shed blood all along the coast opposite Zanzibar, he has not drawn the English into any such aggression. Throughout East and South Africa there is, we believe, no native African tribe in hostility with England. Should this state of things be continued, a great amount of usefulness and honour will accrue to the British name. The withdrawal of the Germans from the North of the British sphere of influence will enable the British East Africa Company to depart from that inactivity which they have so long and so wisely preserved. The Sultan of Zanzibar, since he cannot help coming under some European protectorate, will be relieved to find himself under those who have, at any rate, shown him some consideration; and we may hope that, at least throughout the English protectorate, there may now be peace and progress.

But it is to the European part of Lord Salisbury's open diplomacy that we wish to call attention. *The Times*, in publishing the despatch, had also to publish a leader. But since *The Times* has ceased to be a Russian organ it has ceased to know anything about ancient history. It says:—

"Indeed, the connection between the little Frisian island and Great

Britain is extremely slight, and is not even sacred by long prescription. *It came to us as a part of the possessions of the Hanoverian Kings, and remained British in 1814, says Lord Salisbury, because of its proximity to Hanover.*"

Lord Salisbury certainly did not in his despatch in any way intimate that Heligoland had ever belonged to Hanover. His reference to its retention was dated, with strict accuracy, 1814—the time, not of the date of the Congress of Vienna which dealt with Hanover, and is dated 9th June, 1815, but of the Treaties of Kiel, 14th January, 1814—in which Denmark agreed to make peace with England, Sweden, and Russia, and to take part with the Allies in the war with France. The following is the Article referring to Heligoland :—

ARTICLE III.

"His Britannic Majesty consents to restore to His Danish Majesty all the possessions and colonies which have been conquered by the British arms in this present war, except the island of Heligoland, which His Britannic Majesty reserves to himself in full and entire sovereignty."

Heligoland is certainly not one of the brightest jewels in the British Crown, and the history of its acquisition by Great Britain is not one which we can look back upon with satisfaction.

By the Treaty of Tilsit, 7th July, 1807, Russia went over to France; and, two days later, Prussia followed suit. A man came over to England and declared that he had hidden himself, at great personal risk, in the place where Napoleon and Alexander held their secret Conference, and had heard them agree that France should take possession of the Danish fleet. This story was believed by the English Government, and it was believed that the seizure of the Danish fleet was a secret article of the Treaty of Tilsit. Whether this courageous patriot really exposed himself to such danger may be doubted. It is more likely that his hiding-place was arranged with Russia, or, perhaps, that the whole tale was invented by her. At any rate, Russia reaped the profit. No design on the part of France and Russia could justify Great Britain in demanding from

Denmark the surrender of her fleet. The demand being refused, Great Britain bombarded Copenhagen, seized Heligoland, and took possession of Anhalt (an island in the Cattegat), and of the West Indian Island St. Thomas.

On 7th November, 1807, Russia surprised the British Government by a Declaration of War against Great Britain, in which due capital was made out of the bombardment of Copenhagen.

The indignant reply reveals the extent to which England had, even then, been involved in wars for the interests of Russia. With regard to the bombardment of Copenhagen the following statement was made :—

“His Majesty feels himself under no obligation to offer any atonement or apology to the Emperor of Russia for the expedition against Copenhagen. It is not for those who were parties to the secret arrangements of Tilsit to demand satisfaction for a measure to which those arrangements gave rise, and by which one of the objects of them has been happily defeated.”

There is nothing inconsistent with the character of the Russian Cabinet in its contriving arrangements for the seizure of the Danish fleet at the same time by France and by England. The Danish Monarchy at that time and till 1864 included not only Schleswig, but Holstein, a portion of Germany. France wanted the help of the Danes against Prussia; England required that they should not help France. Denmark only desired to keep out of the quarrel. The demand by England that she should surrender her fleet was a gross violation of her neutrality, and not to be justified by the plea that France had planned a similar violation. Russia had no reason to approve of Napoleon's invasion of Germany, but she was ready to make terms with what she could not hinder.

But as regards Denmark Russia had special objects. Denmark guards the Baltic as Turkey guards the Black Sea, and Russia's secular object is to overcome these barriers. When Russia revived the Armed Neutrality in December, 1800, she engaged Denmark on her side, and thus brought about the Battle of Copenhagen. When the

British fleet got to Cronstadt Paul was dead, and Alexander I. made peace. The short-lived League of Armed Neutrality had done its work, and subsided into the Convention of St. Petersburg. In 1807 came the bombardment of Copenhagen. In 1852 came the Danish Succession Treaty. Then, in and after 1864, the war with Austria and Prussia as the Executive of the German Confederation. Lauenberg and Holstein, which were part of that Confederation, are now provinces of the German Empire, and Schleswig is placed in a similar condition. Denmark is a protected State under the Czar, and when a kingdom under the Russian protectorate wants a King it seeks one in the Danish Royal Family.

Heligoland, then, is a reminiscence of a great injustice into which we were led eighty-three years ago. Why was this injustice continued in 1814? We confess that we do not see why the proximity of Heligoland to Hanover should have been a reason for keeping it. We refused just compensation to Denmark for the bombardment of Copenhagen, and we might have spared her the annoyance of the surrender of this little island. We have, however, to consider to whom this island, which never was really our own, properly belongs. We took it, not from Hanover, which never possessed it, but from the King of Denmark. But Heligoland was no part of Denmark proper. It appears in old maps a part of Schleswig, and if this were incorrect it could only be because Holstein has naturally as good a claim to an island which lies opposite to the mouth of the river Eyder, which divides Schleswig on the North from Holstein on the South. But Schleswig and Holstein are now included in the German Empire. There is, therefore, no other Power to which it could have been surrendered.

There is no doubt of the pleasure felt all over North Germany at the news of this surrender. If we do not enter into this feeling, it is because we have not been subject to the indignity of the presence of a foreign flag on any island

near our coast. Everybody knew that the island was not worth a war. But we must recollect that a Power exists which might require a war between England and Germany and that a demand for the surrender of Heligoland might conceivably have been made in such a manner that war might have been preferable. Lord Salisbury has removed this encumbrance, truly a *damnosa hæreditas*, in the most adroit manner, and deserves great credit for depriving Russia of one of her chances of making mischief.

But what is Heligoland compared to Gibraltar? Heligoland is a little garden where we go and take tea; Gibraltar we have made into a fortress where we interfere with the Spanish right to regulate their own trade. Yet Gibraltar, though much more expensive than Heligoland, is quite as useless to us. Let Lord Salisbury take heart of grace, and restore Gibraltar to Spain.

Were Great Britain to set such an example, even Prussia might think of following suit, and restore Alsace and Lorraine to France. The addition of France and England would make the League of Peace a reality, and United Europe might then call on Russia to disarm.

C. D. COLLET.

CHINESE HISTORY.*

THERE is a Chinese proverb which would seem to be well placed at the commencement of the history of a people so distant and at the same time so different from ourselves. "Ancient and modern times," it says, "form but a single age of the world; under the entire expanse of heaven, all beings are one family." Thus is expressed, in China, the wisdom of nations; and the thought is so true that we meet with it again in more than one other language. An Italian proverb reproduces it in actually identical terms: *Tutt' il mondo è fatto come la nostra famiglia*. The history of the great Eastern Empire offers, in the long series of its revolutions, an infinite variety; but the life of humanity here is in no way different from what we see it in another hemisphere. Empires are born, grow, and arrive at decrepitude in passing through analogous changes of fortune; power is acquired and lost in virtue of the same laws. It is, indeed, easy to push this sort of comparison very far; and some have even gone to the length of giving to illustrious personages in China names borrowed from our own contemporary history. The great conqueror Ts'in Shih Huang-ti has been called the Napoleon of China.

A very natural curiosity seems to induce those who make a prolonged residence in this country to devote their attention to the annals of a State whose immense area and apparent perpetuity of existence present us with a phenomenon unique in all the ages of the world. But the study

* *Programme d'Histoire de Chine*. By M. L. VERHAEGHE DE NAEYER. Proceedings of the Peking Oriental Society, 1890. Translated by FRÉDÉRIC H. BALFOUR.

appears to be best known by its difficulties, and these are of more than one kind. In a paper lately read before the Oriental Society of Peking, Dr. W. A. P. Martin, President of the Peking University, made no attempt to conceal the obstacles that rose up, from the very first, to discourage those who ventured into the vast field of Chinese history. The eminent lecturer pointed out what it was that was lacking in Chinese authors to gain the ear of European readers, who are generally less endowed with patience and tenacity than the erudite sons of Han; and he sketched, in forcible and vivid touches, the portrait of the historian yet to be, who shall extract from the thousands of volumes where Chinese history sleeps as in a museum, the substance of a synthetic work. The pen of the memorialist should not preserve everything for posterity; history does not consist in the registers of the State. Chinese historians are too anxious to lose nothing, and the modern reader, face to face with the enormous heaps of material which they have amassed, turns away with respect, but with terror.

A no less serious difficulty is found in the very nature of the subject dealt with, and this cannot be avoided. The immense continent which we call Europe and Asia is divided into two great areas very fairly matched. In the West, the empires of Assyria and Persia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome constituted the world as known to Antiquity and the Middle Ages; India and Scythia formed its frontier, and a frontier which, in a certain sense, was impassable. In the Far East, there existed another world, wholly unknown to us. China was scarcely inferior in extent and population to all the Western countries put together; its action made itself felt far and wide among its neighbours, and its existence could be traced back to origins as remote as those of the empires of the Euphrates and the Nile.

What, then, is Chinese history? We have divided our own almost infinitely, like the trunk of a tree which

spreads out into numerous branches. Times and places have served as a foundation for this sort of distribution ; the study embraces by turns the annals of the nations which have been successively formed on different points of the territories of Western Asia and of Europe. The history of China, on the contrary, presents itself to us like a bundle solidly bound together. In this case it is impossible to separate the Empire of the Assyrians and the Empire of the Medes, or to devote our study now to Egypt, now to Greece, and now again to Rome. The Roman Empire existed during the relatively short period which extends from Confucius to the extinction of the dynasty of Han ; the whole Middle Ages comprehend only the duration of a few Chinese dynasties ; and, in fine, our modern epoch, already so long and so fruitful in events, coincides in China with the times of the Ming and those of the reigning family. The history of China, then, embraces alone the entire history of European nations, ancient as well as modern, comprising further that of Western Asia and even of India and Persia. We see the almost infinite extent of such a field of study, and what guidance is necessary to us in entering upon it.

It is true that the Chinese could, on their side, regard all the regions of the ancient classic world as a single country. The West possesses a certain unity in their eyes similar to that which we attribute to their own Empire. Whatever may be the apparent diversity of Western nations, it is still possible to discover in their history, at more than one epoch, a sort of dominant principle ; and the dream of a Universal Monarchy has frequently haunted the minds of conquerors. Some centuries before the Christian era, the kings of Persia were able to call themselves the masters of the known world. Alexander took their place, and with him it was the Greeks who succeeded to their supremacy. In course of time this pre-eminence became the appanage of the Roman people, and, after the fall of Rome, the new world that was established upon

the ruins of the Empire itself maintained a sort of unity. First Christianity, then the Renaissance, imprinted upon the nations a uniform stamp, a common spirit, which have not disappeared from the Europe of our own day. Sovereignties pass away, but civilization perishes not with any one of them ; Greece inherits from the East, Rome from Greece, and we ourselves live, to a great extent, upon the capital bequeathed to us by this early efflorescence of the human mind.

The history of China presents itself to our eyes with a remarkable character for unity and perpetuity ; and finally, that which distinguishes it, for us, from every other, is the fact that this great nation appears to have existed in a state of utter isolation. Its distance was sufficient to render it somewhat inaccessible. Nature, again, in giving it sufficiently extended frontiers, had in a manner forbidden it to cross them. On the land side, it is the mountains, reckoned among the most unsurmountable in the whole world, which separate it from India and Thibet. On the seaboard, everything seems to have conspired to prohibit the practice of navigation to the inhabitants. The first navigators of antiquity were the Greeks. From their coasts they surveyed the neighbouring islands, which the narrowness of the seas invited them to visit ; they made constant voyages, but, in the Mediterranean, they scarcely ever found themselves out of sight of land. In China, no adjacent shores are visible to the inhabitants of the coasts, while the nearest countries are too far off for any commerce to have been established at an epoch when navigation was fraught with so many difficulties. Even in our own days, the China seas have a reputation for inhospitality ; the northerly regions being subject to those formidable fogs which arise from the Yang-tzū and the Huang Hai, while the southerly are swept by typhoons. The Chinese nation would have nothing to do with the sea, and all the less as it possessed, for its internal requirements, a singularly well-developed network of waterways.

One may say with some truth that the Chinese Empire is the oldest in the world, as well as perhaps the most extensive. Like all other sovereignties, it has not failed to undergo trials and to pass through various vicissitudes. But, what offers to our eyes an undeniable character of unity and perpetuity, is the Chinese civilization ; which, after having been subjected to long ages of development, preserves, and has preserved for centuries, a uniform stamp. Born with the people, it has grown up with them ; it has survived the divers fortunes of the nation ; it has made its way into neighbouring communities, and has, on many occasions, fortified itself afresh by the introduction of new and vigorous blood. This phenomenon has been produced in Europe also ; the Hellenic spirit invaded the entire East with the successors of the Macedonian hero, and, when Rome was mistress of Greece, she in her turn succumbed to the intellectual ascendancy of a conquered people. *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit.*

This Græco-Roman civilization flourished upon the shores of the Mediterranean up to the fall of Constantinople ; it was renewed for us in the fifteenth century ; it was subjected, at the end of the eighteenth, to the impulse of new revolutions, seconded by the progress, unexampled up till then, of arts and sciences ; but it has always preserved the imprint of preceding ages, as the legacy bequeathed to it by the generations of the past.

The Chinese deserve praise for not having adorned their history with a chronology which, like that of the Indians, deprives of all credence the earliest accounts of their annalists. But this Indian chronology has its poetry, and perhaps also its share of truth. Those thousands of years which constitute scarcely a single day of Brahma, do they not reappear in the æons of modern geology ? These obscure ages have left no trace whatever in the memory of man, and yet humanity has lived. If we want to know what this life has been, we must ask the imagination of poets, or even that of certain publicists. The life of grow-

ing man, of savage man if you like, has been traced back with incomparable eloquence, and, if we may dare to avow it, it seems to us with some approach to truth, by Rousseau, in that celebrated discourse which, augmented by fresh researches and philosophical conclusions open to debate, became the "Contrat Social."

It was in the middle of the sixth century B.C. that the historical sense seems to have been awakened in the great nation of the Far East, and, we may remark in passing, it was at the same epoch that appeared, in the Grecian world, the Father of History. Confucius and Herodotus were contemporaries. Before them, the acts of princes and peoples were collected, no doubt, by more than one annalist, but they were the first who knew how to compile an historical work, and, above all, they had the good fortune to survive the shipwreck of the past. These two men, both illustrious, but in so different a fashion, have each bequeathed master-pages to their respective countries, the *résumé* of an earlier life which ought to be eternally engraved upon the memory of men. *Du reste*, this is all they had in common. Nothing could be more different than the thoughts which guide them, than their methods, than their styles, if we may thus speak. Their influence, considerable in the case of each, exercises itself also in a totally distinct manner. One created history, that important branch of the most advanced literatures in the Western world; the other constituted himself the moral and political educator of the most numerous people who have ever accepted the same philosophical doctrine.

Herodotus was born upon the extreme verge of the Grecian world, upon a peninsula jutting out into the sea, between Europe and Asia. Nothing more is required to explain the character of his life and works. He was a traveller; and all his fellow-citizens in Halicarnassus must have been like him in this respect. Lydia, the kingdom of Candaules and Cræsus, lay before the gates of his native town. Naturally he deals with the fortunes of this

State. But Croesus succumbed to Cyrus the Great; and Persia presents itself to the eyes of the observer. The history of Persia was then very nearly the history of the world; Cambyses invaded Egypt, and Darius Scythia. And the historian gives us all the most authentic information we possess about these two nations. At last, when the great king seems on the point of beating down all resistance about him, Greece, in that immense effort which still remains the one luminous spot in antiquity, and was justly calculated to inspire the first of her historians, arrests the Asiatic power and begins to prepare herself to destroy it. Such is the subject of Herodotus; placed in the centre of the ancient world, the writer casts his glances around him, and successively describes the neighbouring countries while narrating for us their annals.

Herodotus appears to have favoured a democratic government. I only make this passing allusion to the political opinions of the historian in order to observe with what perspicacity he recognised the economic consequences of this constitutional principle. Democratic equality, he says, is favourable to production. Men, secure in working for themselves, throw themselves into their tasks with ardour. M. de Tocqueville, in passing through America, says the same thing: "Liberty gives birth to more benefits than she destroys, and, in nations where she is known, the resources of the people always increase more rapidly than their burdens."

At the epoch when the great conflict was pending between Greece and Persia, the Chinese nation was pursuing the course of an existence that had already lasted many centuries, partitioned among petty sovereigns who had divided the soil between them, while over them all reigned the imperial dynasty of Chou. One of these petty kingdoms, that of Lu, gave birth to the extraordinary man whose philosophical and political mind was destined one day to conform the whole of China to his own image. The merits of Confucius were great, and we can still appreciate

them in his writings, but his good fortune was prodigious. He never allowed himself to found a religion, and his teachings obtained an empire which had appeared to be reserved for the most powerful religions exclusively. Never was a man, speaking in his own name, more listened to by his fellows. The philosophers of the West have had their followers, more or less numerous; but no nation has ever entered bodily into one philosophical school. The fortune of Confucius is therefore unique. We shall revert later on to the probable causes of so extraordinary a triumph. At present it is less the philosopher and his political principles than the historian who claims our attention. In remodelling the morals and the politics of his country according to his own views, he had also to re-write its annals, in order to stamp them with the imprint of his own thought; and his historical work, the *Shû King*, presents us, in effect, with the philosophy of Chinese history as Confucius understood it, and as he made use of it in his teaching.

The *Shû King*, or Book of Annals, is the primitive, venerable, and we may say authentic, source of Chinese history. Is it, properly speaking, an historical work? It embodies the annals of the Chinese people; but the aim of the writer is not only to compile a record of events. The didactic intention is seen throughout. If Confucius mentions the emperors and great men of bygone ages, it is in order that he may draw from the past the lessons of the future. There are far fewer facts than dissertations in his book. Very often the sovereign is relegated to the second rank; it is a wise minister who offers to princes and peoples precepts inspired by lofty wisdom and profoundly human sentiment. Let us not forget that Confucius himself was for a long time the minister of his prince. We seem to see him speaking through the mouth of those ancient worthies whom he places upon his stage; it is he, above all, whom we learn to know; it is his philosophy which fills the *Shû King*, and the doctrine of this book may

well inspire, even at the present day, in those who read it, a profound admiration for the sage who taught it two thousand five hundred years ago. Much has been written in the West about the respective duties of princes and their subjects, but we have not added very much to the political ethology of the Chinese philosopher. If we had to discover among our own books that which could be best compared with the *Shû King*, our selection would apparently have to fall upon the Old Testament. The Bible offers us, like the *Shû King*, history and doctrine, precept and example, side by side. To the Hebrew, as to the Chinese, one volume was sufficient, a single volume containing all that it was necessary for him to know. The Bible speaks to us of history, but the history only plays, as in the *Shû King*, a secondary part; the wielder of the pen has a very different aim—may I not venture to say a superior one? Confucius is, before everything, the great moralist; this he never forgets in a single page of his *Annals*. Herodotus remains historian; and his glory is not less for being different.

The history of China may be divided into three great periods, and each of these comprises a long series of centuries. Our guiding thread in the labyrinth of this study will not be the succession of dynasties. There is a fact which dominates the whole of this long history; we mean the perpetuity, the immutability of the Chinese civilization, as nearly as possible the same to-day as it was so many centuries ago. This civilization underwent at first a period of long and slow formation; then it arrived at its full-blown efflorescence; and finally it imposed itself, indestructible as it was, upon nations of foreign origin, and gave laws to the very conquerors of China. The Chinese nation found, in the great basins of the Yellow and Blue Rivers, a compact mass, impenetrable by influences from without, insensible even to the action of time. Chronologically these three periods of Chinese history stretched, the first, from primeval times till the unification of the princedoms under

the powerful hand of Ts'in Shih Huang-ti, shortly before our era ; the second, from the epoch when the Chinese race attained full self-consciousness, during the course of those centuries in which the national civilization thrived and flourished, down to the moment when the Empire came under the influence of its Northern neighbours ; the third and last, from the entry of the Mongols upon the scene to our own days. We do not think that, in this division, we stray too far from the idea put forth by Dr. Martin in the paper to which allusion has been already made. That writer recognises in the history of China three movements which should claim the attention of the student : the conquest of China by the Chinese, the conquest of China by the Tartars, and the struggle between the forces which exist in the bosom of the Empire itself, the elements of which have now a centripetal, now a centrifugal, tendency. The latter proclivity is by no means peculiar to this or that period of Chinese history ; it is permanent, because it arises from the nature of things, and it is easy to establish its existence in every epoch. No great State escapes this law, which is as effective in Europe as in the vast empires of Asia.

The antiquity of the black-haired race can only be compared with that of Egypt. The proof of it rests upon their hieroglyphic writing, the uncontested appanage of primeval nations. In the Museum of the Louvre we may see Chaldaean inscriptions which go as far back as sixteen centuries before our era ; and their characters remind us vividly of those of the Chinese language. The origins of the great Far-Eastern Empire are mixed up with those of civilization at large, with those even of human society itself. Those great sovereigns of high antiquity in China, personages whom we may regard as belonging to fable rather than to history, were the first instructors of humanity. One taught men how to cover themselves with the skins of animals ; another traced the first furrows through a field ; a third, and that a heroine, invented the art of rearing silk-

worms. She, assuredly, has every claim to the homage of a nation that she endowed with its most brilliant industry. Among the Greeks, it was to superhuman beings, to the Olympians themselves, that the gratitude of men ascribed the honour of such inventions as are necessary to our existence. Ceres and Triptolemus had taught them the art of husbandry; Minerva had endowed the not very fertile soil of Attica with the olive-tree; Vulcan was the first forger of iron.

We can scarcely refuse to date the historical period of China from the reign of the first dynasty. The succession of sovereigns unfolds itself with perfect regularity; a chronology is appended to the historical narratives, and if we are unable to prove its exactitude by direct means, it would not be easier to demonstrate its untruth. But it is necessary to admit these narratives with some reserve. What work is more imposing, more veracious upon the surface, than that of Titus Livy? He presents us successively with the kings and consuls of Rome in a magnificent procession, and the epoch in which he wrote would never have permitted the abuse of any dissimilitude. And yet his book, which appears to have been accepted by the ancients without controversy, has received no quarter from modern criticism, and we know how much of these legends would willingly be dispensed with by critics—legends which, tragic or touching as they are, struck us all so forcibly when we were young. Well, we shall also have to resign ourselves to the necessity of believing, on their simple word, the historians of the earliest Chinese dynasties. Let it suffice us to retain the venerated names of Yao, Shùn, and Yü, the organizers of a primitive community, to whom tradition ascribes the glory of having been the first to establish magistracies, to divide the territory, and even to protect it against those natural scourges among which are still reckoned—such is the immutability of affairs—the fatal inundations of the Yellow River. The first two dynasties, the Hsia and the Shang, occupy a period of eleven hundred

years. A considerable revolution, of which we possess certain details of a rather more circumstantial nature, then placed upon the throne the family of Chou, just eleven centuries before the Christian era.

A change of dynasty, in those ancient times, was a serious matter. But the reigning families, after having ensured the benefits of law and order to their subjects for a prolonged period, underwent in their turn the inexorable law of human affairs, and the last representatives of the Shang presented only the melancholy spectacle of their degeneracy. Then there occurred in China what we never fail to see in every other country, when the sceptre slips from a hand no longer strong enough to hold it. The Prince of Chou aspired to a throne the occupants of which had shown themselves unworthy of it; he drew the sword in justification of his cause, and the fortune of war gave him the empire.

"Le premier qui fut roi, fut un soldat heureux."

—*Voltaire.*

The new master of China, however, understood the gravity of his act. In a chapter, by no means the least curious in the *Shû King*, Wû Wang, the victorious Prince, attempts to show that it was solely a desire to fulfil a sort of celestial mandate which had urged him to revolt. The line of argument he adopts is assuredly not devoid of logic; it has, rather, the defect of lending itself too freely to all cases of the same sort, when it is easier to come to an agreement upon theoretical principles than upon the deeds which ought to justify the application of them.

The Chinese nation, having come from Central Asia, probably by the opening which serves as passage for the Yellow River, lived and developed itself in the valley of that great stream and its chief tributaries. One of the most ancient capitals, Hsi-an Fu, is on the Wei Ho; and a rival soon sprang up in the city of Lo-yang, or Ho-nan Fu, after the Empire had passed into the hands of masters whose domains were situated further west. Centuries

were necessary for the gradual advance of this new sovereignty into the Yang-tzū Valley: the primitive States were all situated to the north of this, and it was a northern people, relatively speaking, which formed the nucleus of the Chinese authority.

It is not necessary to discuss the question whether the unity of the Empire really existed under the earliest sovereigns. But that unity was not compatible, during periods so remote, with the extension of the national domain. If the race preserved common characteristics, the power must soon have been split up. The *régime* of petty kingships is the most natural to growing societies. Usurpation, the natural result of inequality in power, is produced at all points, but soon finds a limit in rival encroachments. Whether sovereigns be or be not the prime authors of this *régime*: whether their favour be or be not the source of the authority arrogated by their vassals, is of no consequence; in default of concessions on their part, their too powerful subjects are not long in wrenching from them the power in dispute, and feudalism gives place to anarchy. The Chou Emperors are credited with establishing a sort of feudalism in China; but it would appear to be nearer the truth to say that, in their time, numbers of petty chieftains imitated their example and aspired to independence. We will hazard another conjecture. Perhaps, in this immense territory, there were formed at unknown distances new agricultural colonies; civilization spread in more than one direction, and small, distinct societies grew up round new centres, endowed, and justly enough, with a relative independence of each other. The unity of the Empire never was, even in the earliest times, an absolute reality. Under Yâo, according to M. Pauthier, there were thirteen feudatory kingdoms; there were thirty under Shûn, twenty under the Hsia, and seventeen under the Shang; while, under the Chou, their number amounted to a hundred and fifty-six. It is this which has been called the Feudal Period.

But we do not believe that Chinese feudalism brought with it, as in Europe, the establishment of a civil and social organization based entirely upon the same principle. The feudal *régime* was a solution, rudimentary in its principle, often inhuman in its consequences, of a problem which presents itself under different names at all epochs of history. Human society cannot exist without an interchange of services; how can these services be demanded, and how ought they to be rendered? One fact which appears also inseparable from humanity, the inequality of conditions, enhances the difficulty of solving this question. Feudalism believed itself able, in order to ensure the cultivation of the fields, to attach the cultivators to the glebe. In our own days the problem changes its aspect. The husbandman, given full liberty of action, did not at first quit the soil on which it is his interest to remain. But nobody foresaw, comparatively a few years ago, the invention of steam as a locomotive power, and we are even yet unable to foresee the unexpected results which it may bring about in the social economy of the Old World.

The dynasty of Chou produced some great ministers, and the Book of History has given considerable space to the counsels and maxims of these wise functionaries, the true pillars of the newly-established throne. It is into their mouth that the author of the Shû King puts, together with what remained of ancient legends, the fruit of his own meditations upon the science of government. The greatest of all was Chou Kûng, who flourished towards the year 1000 B.C. That which he has bequeathed to us of himself in the Shû King, or the utterances that are there recorded under his name, form one of the most interesting parts of this venerated book. It is there we read that striking and severe denunciation against wine, the abuse of which is shown to be so fatal, especially to those whose excesses must be regarded, not only as a private evil, but as a public calamity. The primitive code of China is found in those long chapters of the Shû King, where the author, in

narrating the commencements of the dynasty then reigning, seems anxious to enlarge upon the maxims of government which that dynasty had always honoured, and of which it was no useless task to remind their degenerate successors.

For, after having lasted more than six centuries, the dynasty of Chou recognised in its turn the prognostics of its decline. The period of great ministers had gone, and the sage counsellors, far removed from Courts, had buried themselves and their meditations in profound retirement. Lao-tzŭ, who then appeared, cared nothing for any social or political action; he devoted all the energies of his great mind to searching for the first principles of things; he was the philosopher, as we generally understand him, who lives a voluntary stranger to practical life. The school he founded has since become the sanctuary of one of the religions of China. But it was reserved for another than he to create that philosophy which was truly indigenous to the country, to incarnate in himself the knowledge and the wisdom of the people, and to exercise upon its entire future a decisive influence.

It is in one of the small secondary States, the kingdom of Lŭ, now the province of Shantŭng, that, 551 years before our era, the child was born who became the great K'ung-tzŭ. He thus had the very real advantage of appearing in the bosom of a little kingdom; his merit found easier occasion to make itself appreciated, and the reputation of his studious youth penetrated without difficulty to the Court of Lŭ. This reputation sprang in the first instance from literature, and, as often happens, the man of letters was soon lost in the politician. But, unlike many who had similarly made their *début* in the schools, he did not encounter the opposition which usually closes the way to thinkers. On the contrary, Confucius found friends and protectors among the princes of the little kingdom. It almost seemed, judging from the attention paid to his words, that the dream of Plato had been realised, and that

we were near seeing, in China, philosophers upon the throne. Lâ was proud of the eminent man who had become one of its chief ornaments. Nevertheless this brilliant career was not exempt from the ordinary vicissitudes of human life. Politics soon afforded plenty of leisure to the philosopher, and he profited by it to undertake his immense works upon the classical books of China. It was from his hands that the latter went forth in their present shape, in which they now present themselves to the study and admiration of posterity.

Every one knows the essential characteristics of this philosophy. It rests upon the principle of Completion by Culture, applied to the nature of man. It is our part to develop those precious germs implanted in human reason, which, without our co-operation, remain choked and sterile. This is not the place in which to enlarge upon the essence of this doctrine, the main peculiarity of which lies in its profound insight, not only into the laws of individual morality, but into those which apply to the government of societies. It is this last peculiarity which gives it a unique importance in the history of all peoples; for no philosophy has acted more directly upon the laws, the politics, and the civilization of a great nation. We have, then, to show what fortune fell to the lot of the Confucian doctrine, to which the destinies of the Chinese nation are in a sense attached. The progress of its ascendancy marks the progress of the great Empire; and the short periods when we see its growth arrested are those which history covers as with a veil, epochs of decadence and error when the genius of the nation was obscured.

Mêng-tzŭ, or Mencius, shares with Confucius the glory of having been the instructor of the Chinese people. It is impossible to separate the names of these two great men, whose work will ever remain united, just as their influence ran, in a sense, in parallel lines.

It is permissible to believe that the constant progress of the Confucian philosophy was no stranger to that move-

ment of concentration which was produced in China during the last ages of the Chou dynasty. Letters have often contributed as much as, even more than, arms, to the formation of great nationalities. But it was reserved for China to witness the appearance, at this precise juncture, of one of those striking personalities whose *rôle* it is to make a *tabula rasa* of the past, in order that the solid foundations of the future may be erected upon it after they shall have disappeared. If their empire, like Alexander's, does not survive them, we still could not say that everything perished with them. Their weapons leave in the world a more durable trace than even those who have destroyed their ascendancy may imagine. The Alexander of China was the truly extraordinary man who founded the dynasty of Ts'in, and whose birth took place scarcely a century after that of the Macedonian conqueror. Each had the same destiny; both triumphed over all the enemies who opposed them, and both had the good fortune to be ignorant that there existed another hemisphere which had escaped the onslaughts of their ambition.

The conqueror who succeeded in uniting the whole of China under his own sway was called Ts'in Shih Huang-ti: the First Absolute Sovereign of the Dynasty of Ts'in. His life and reign were one long series of victorious expeditions, which brought together into his vast Empire all the countries which compose the China of to-day. This powerful warrior was also a vigorous and skilful administrator, as though to complete a resemblance often pointed out with a conqueror of modern times. Ts'in Shih Huang-ti, in like manner, encountered opposition from the idealists of his epoch. It was his aim to break through this obstacle; and the measures he adopted with this end in view have given to his name another sort of immortality. Fire, throughout the whole Empire, destroyed all the books; and their authors were subjected to the most cruel massacres. This strange project of annihilating the monuments of thought, is not without example in history;

the: Caliph Omar was no doubt tempted by it, when he cherished the hope of causing the disappearance of the remains of Western civilization, together with the Alexandrian Library. Will it be believed that the very same notion has haunted the brain of a modern? Yet such is the fact. Barère, in order to remodel the face of the world, desired to resort to the same method. The world, he said, would soon be nothing but an immense store-house of printed paper. His words were true, and Barère, no less than any other, would have been unable to destroy that enormous and ever-growing mass of volumes.

There still remains an equally extraordinary monument of this astounding reign. Residents in Peking know it well; we mean that Great Wall which they never fail to visit at the point where it approaches the metropolis. It is difficult for us to judge to-day of that intrepidity of mind which could form, in the time of Ts'in Shih Huang-ti, this military conception, as gigantic as it was strange. The Great Wall has been scaled often enough by the neighbours whom it was built to keep out of China; but it remains still standing upon the crest of the Mongolian mountains, and presents the same curious and picturesque aspect which distinguishes so many other ancient and, alas! useless fortifications.

Ts'in Shih Huang-ti had a short life; and his empire, his dynasty, did not survive him long. But this other Alexander, like the Macedonian hero, had prepared the way for one enduring work. Chinese civilization was, after him, bound to spread unimpeded through all the vast extent of country formerly split up into rival kingdoms; it became established under the hands of a series of princes deeply imbued with its spirit, and, after this last phase of its development, it seemed to have nothing more to fear from either time or external influences. Presently it rebuts the attacks which come from the West or the North, the vulnerable points of China's frontier; again, it bends before invasion, but only to recover itself right

speedily. In a lecture delivered before the Peking Oriental Society, on the 24th of February, 1886, Herr C. Arendt characterized this phenomenon perfectly. The Chinese soil exercises an absorbing influence upon all the peoples who come and settle upon it, and subjects them to a transformation as real as it appears inevitable.

It is the great and celebrated dynasty of Han which opens the second period of Chinese history, about two centuries before the Christian era. It was principally remarkable for representing the Chinese nationality at the very summit of its development, and the civilization of this great people on the verge of attaining its apogee. The grateful people will always willingly retain the name of Sons of Han. The work of formation is completed; China gathers the fruit of the labours of foregoing generations. A conqueror had united it for an instant in his grasp; but an influence, otherwise powerful, had been working for five centuries in bringing together the scattered members of the nation, and the moment had now come when this process, which had been slowly advancing through prolonged vicissitudes, was about to receive a definitive consecration.

The founder and first monarch of the Han dynasty, Kào Tsû, paid a solemn visit to the tomb of Confucius. It is to this moment that we are able to trace the public worship offered to the philosopher, the manifestations of which increased in splendour under the successors of Kào Tsû. The Imperial power caused the doctrine of the philosopher to share its throne, and it was from this epoch that the Confucian system earned the name of one of the religions of China. Not many centuries after, a Western prince set on foot a revolution of the same nature in favour of a creed also destined to conquer one of the greatest empires that have ever existed. Once more history offers us curious analogies between these parallel revolutions, accomplished at almost the same epoch, among two nations who were ignorant of each other's existence. If the

Romans were acquainted with those whom they called the Seres, it was only in a very vague fashion. And had the Chinese, on their side, any relations with the great Empire of the West? An ingenious and erudite book has been written in reply to this question. Without entirely setting it at rest, Dr. Hirth has brought together much valuable information upon the relations which may possibly have existed, from antiquity, between the two great halves of Asia; and his conjectures appear to be by no means without foundation.

With the accession of the Han dynasty, Chinese history emerges from the period of the legendary and obscure. The great literary persecution only endured for a time like all acts of violence done to nature; and Chinese literature now took a bound forward that nothing will ever arrest. A great annalist, the Plutarch of China, composed a work which took its rank among the classics. Ssü-ma Ts'ien deserves also the title, in his own country, of the Father of History. The triumph of the literati was complete; the epoch was one of a veritable Renaissance, and ever since China has maintained the indelible character of a nation which holds learning and the devotees of learning in the very highest honour. Under the Han Princes, the encouragements of power are never lacking to the learned class, which thus becomes the most solid support of the dynasty, and undertakes an active propaganda for the benefit of the institutions of which the class itself is henceforward one of the principal elements. The unity of the Empire was thereby further consolidated, and ever since this time it has formed one imposing and indivisible whole. History has nothing more to record than mere fugitive or passing separations, such as that at the time of the San Kuō, or Three Kingdoms, when the ancient States of Wei and Wu recovered their existence for a brief period. It was the provinces a long way from Shensi, the situation of which upon the frontiers of the Empire increased the difficulty of governing them from afar; Ssü-ch'uan and

Yünnan have frequently evinced a similar propensity for independence, and there is nothing that need surprise us in the fact.

Chinese sovereignty was first constituted in the regions of the North, upon the banks of the Huang Ho and the Wei Ho, where we find the two ancient capitals Hsi-an Fu and Ho-nan Fu. But for centuries the Empire now marched southward. New interests were springing up there, and there was above all the necessity of keeping a watch upon the security of a newly-established power. The dynasty of Han had ceased to reign after a glorious existence of over four hundred years. Its successors transported the seat of their government to Nanking, that new metropolis of China which has preserved, down to our own days, a widespread renown for ancient splendour. This was a marked step, on the part of both the Empire and the Chinese race, in a southerly direction; in this new capital, situated almost exactly in the centre of the State, the fusion operated, if that were possible, still more completely among the various secondary nationalities. The Yang-tzü became an essentially Chinese river, by the same right as the Huang Ho. And the emigration to softer and more genial skies did not, certainly, fail to exercise its usual influence upon the national civilization. At Nanking the arts flourished; industry attained new and brilliant developments; literary genius shone with the splendour of a new poesy. Then it was that Chinese civilization arrived at its fullest efflorescence, and its action was not even arrested at the frontiers of the Empire. The neighbouring countries, the Indo-Chinese peninsula above all, received as it were an illumination from afar; China was not only the powerful Middle Kingdom, she was the hearth, or focus, of philosophic lustre, of the literary spirit, and of all the useful arts.

This second period of Chinese history did not last less than one thousand years. We have often seen this long stretch of time given to the life of one small

people; Athens, for instance, was, during a thousand years, a sort of intellectual metropolis. A great number of Chinese dynasties succeeded each other upon the throne; a few even reigned simultaneously. The seat of government was sometimes re-transported to the North; again and again it was brought back towards the South. But the unity of the nation remained indestructible throughout.

If it is difficult to remember the names of all the Imperial families, there are at least two which ought never to be effaced from our minds. We mean the T'ang and the S'ung. Both these great dynasties gave to China three centuries of flourishing and often glorious government. The first was contemporary with an epoch which was equally splendid in both Eastern and Western Europe, when Haroun Al Raschid and Charlemagne obtained the double fame of conquerors and civilizers. In China, the T'ang dynasty was also distinguished as a time of much literary activity. Dr. Edkins has recently lectured before the Peking Oriental Society upon the works of Li T'ai-p'ö, the great poet of this period. His rival, T'u Fu, was not less celebrated. New intellectual elements had come to combine themselves with those which the Chinese nation already possessed; these were due to the introduction of Buddhism, which has been shown to be in a measure favourable to the development of the artistic sense in a nation too exclusively devoted, perhaps, to the worship of actualities. The verses of Li T'ai-p'ö, having become classical, have charmed generation after generation, and remain to-day objects of the just admiration of the literati of our own times.

The development of the fine arts followed a parallel course, and we witness, at this remote epoch, the birth of an artistic popular industry—which, however, was not to attain perfection till much later—the manufacture of porcelain. Under the S'ung dynasty, ceramics were employed to decorate the new metropolis, Hangchow, which displayed after the lapse of centuries a legendary splen-

dour; and the productions of this art contributed to the pleasures of a wealthy and refined society. It will be easily understood that at present they are very rare. Bronze has naturally survived the ravages of time better, and the cups, vases, and emblems used in Buddhism are more frequently employed than the fragile wonders of porcelain, the relics of an extravagance which seems to-day to have disappeared.

While the families of T'ang and S'ung held sway in China, Central Asia was the scene of great national movements which occupied, in this part of the world, the period of our own Middle Ages. Antiquity gave the name of Scythians to those little-known nations which inhabited the Far North. When, in the course of centuries, they multiplied to such an extent that their territory no longer sufficed for their support, they precipitated themselves towards the South. Europe received a part of this invasion; and the Far East was certainly not allowed to escape. Ever since the first centuries after the Moham-medan Hegira, the Turkish nation had commenced its march towards the frontiers of the Arabian Empire, which it was destined afterwards to absorb. China, from this time, was the mistress of those central regions of Asia which are still called, in part, Chinese Turkestan. Under the T'ang, the two peoples found themselves for the first time in conflict. The Turks appear in Chinese history under the name of Tû-küeh. The emperors and their generals succeeded, by dint of prolonged efforts, in keeping them back from their frontiers. Then, as we know, the march of this warlike nation took a new direction. Asia Minor was their first provision-house on the way to Europe. The Seldjoucides founded flourishing States upon the ruins of the Greek kingdoms, but their fortune was destined to be soon eclipsed by that of a new tribe, otherwise famous in the world's history. The latter, likewise enclosed in the bosom of the petty Asia Minor States, had fortified itself upon the slopes of Mount Olympus,

where Brutia, its metropolis, preserves even to-day the importance of a great city, and a sort of sacred fame. It was from there that the Ottoman Sultans watched, for nearly two centuries, the inevitable fall of Constantinople. From the height of their mountain they could see Propontides, that last defence of the new Rome. We all know what fate was reserved for the family of Osman.

At last, after about thirty centuries of already prodigious development, China was forced to submit to the ascendancy of a foreign race; or rather, she had to open herself to new nations, and in a measure unite their domains with her own. This revolution, moreover, was only accomplished after a transition period which lasted more than a century.

Asia, to the North of China, had been always agitated by great emigration movements. An irresistible law pushed, towards the valleys of the Yang-tzŭ and the Yellow River, the nations which were then known under the generic name of Tartars, but which, in the East and in the West, formed two great and perfectly distinct families. Both became, as soon as the Turks had retired, a new danger to the Chinese Empire. The Sŭng dynasty, after having imparted a brilliant lustre to the 10th and 11th centuries of our era, became enfeebled, and was soon unable to drive back the Eastern Tartars, which had approached nearest to its frontiers. The struggle ended in a sort of partition, and we find reigning, simultaneously, in China, all through the 12th century, the dynasty of Sŭng and a Tartar dynasty of the name of Kin, or Golden. It was then that the Imperial Court, expelled even from Nanking, sought refuge at the extremity of its domains, in that city of Hangchow which became one of the wonders of the then known world. Everybody knows the description of it that has been left by a traveller whose name we shall now mention, and whose veracity, whatever may be said about it, should not be lightly impugned, if it is judged by the exactitude of such of his accounts

which we have still the means of scrutinizing at the present day.

Marco Polo never saw the Sûng dynasty in power. It had already disappeared in the general overthrow of the Asiatic nations, brought about by the sudden elevation of a conqueror whose expeditions surpassed even those of Alexander the Great. Genghis Khan, at the head of his Mongol hordes, founded the vastest empire that had ever existed. China did not escape his devouring aggressions; by the middle of the 13th century A.D. she had ceased all resistance; the Sûng succumbed, and with them the ancient independence of the Chinese race. This time the Western Tartars achieved a triumph far completer than that of their Eastern brethren; and the third period of the history of China opens with the advent of a Mongolian dynasty which was adopted by the people and inscribed by them upon the long muster-roll of their acknowledged sovereigns.

Nor did the immediate successors of Genghis Khan show themselves unworthy of their extraordinary chief. Europe itself had trembled at the rumours of this Mongolian conquest; and when the premature death of Genghis delivered it from the danger of seeing him at its gates, it remained for a long time struck with the renown of those great Tartar Khans who were masters of the whole of Asia. This legendary *éclat* inflamed men's imaginations. Travellers ventured to explore the highways of Central Asia; letters were exchanged between Mongol potentates, popes, and kings of France. At length one bold Venetian undertook the most astonishing enterprise that the commercial genius of the time was able to inspire; and on returning to his own land, he conceived the happy thought of writing an account of his unique voyage. Such was the origin of the book of Marco Polo, the most precious monument we possess of the history and geography of ancient Asia.

This work was put in circulation about the middle of

the 14th century; and we read in the learned commentaries of Colonel Yule and M. Pauthier that its appearance excited but little sensation in Europe. The erudition of the time treated it as a fairy-tale. Nobody rushed off eastward in the footsteps of the great traveller; his undertaking remained alone of its kind, and, after the ray of light that he had thrown on Asia, fresh clouds obscured whatever was known in Europe about the great Empire of the East. The true discovery of China is to be traced, for us, to the Portuguese, who landed in it by a very different route. To-day Marco Polo stands well avenged of the reproach of credulity, and justice is rendered to the truth of his assertions, which a thousand details enable us to demonstrate in proportion to our own increasing knowledge of China as it is and was.

The most famous descendant of Genghis Khan was that Kúblai Khan on whom Marco Polo, in exchange for his long protection, has conferred immortality. A large portion of the Venetian's book is devoted to the glory of this remarkable man, who figures upon the catalogue of China's sovereigns under the name of Shīh Tsū. The old empire had ended with the dynasty of Sūng; and through one of those revolutions of which we have frequent examples in great monarchies, it was henceforward in the North that the seat of the new Mongol sovereignty was established. The ancient capitals, Hsi-an Fû, Ho-nan Fû, Hangchow, and Nanking, were discrowned; it was Peking which, in its turn, became the imperial city, and the choice of Kúblai Khan seems to have been ratified by his successors after the disappearance of the Mongolian dynasty. For six centuries the northern metropolis has now maintained its prerogative. The favourable situation of Peking, at an equal distance from the principal possessions of the Empire, and its salubrious climate, as free from extreme cold as from the enervating influences of the tropics, both justify a preference which has been consecrated by so long a period. There was, in the first instance, a town upon

this site; Kúblai Khan made it his winter residence, and, if I may venture to express the opinion, gave it its present form.

It appears difficult to contest this latter point. Marco Polo's description is precise enough to place it almost beyond doubt. If modern Peking is not the city of Kúblai Khan, there must have existed on the same site, at a distance of scarcely a few hundreds of metres, an absolutely similar town, which the successors of the great Khan must have displaced; throwing up a new Coal Mountain a few paces from the old one, and excavating some new lakes exactly resembling those which had before existed. No; the capital of China has remained, in the main lines of its configuration, what it was in the days of the Mongol sovereign: we can only admit that its circuit may have been rebuilt, perhaps retraced, when it received its actual shape. But as regards the heart of the city, the Imperial Palace which has remained the centre of it, the Coal Mountain, and the vast lakes which lie stretched out to the north, the text of Marco Polo is a description which has never lost a grain of truth.

There is one remark which it is impossible to avoid making at the first view of Peking. The plan of all European capitals bears traces of gradual development, subsequent to beginnings which were often modest enough. The enlargements came in obedience to topographical laws,—sometimes, even, by chance. The suburbs spread along the thoroughfares, in the country, before being absorbed by the growing town. Nothing like this has taken place in Peking. As we see it, the Imperial City is the result of a unique conception; the plan and the proportions were created at a single stroke. And history, moreover, confirms it; it was Kúblai Khan who traced the outline of the palace and the city, according to the model of the palaces of the Mongol princes, which reproduces pretty closely the form of a camp. A Roman camp, furthermore, was arranged on almost the same principles.

The great moats which surround the palace, the lakes which adorn the gardens, the Coal Mountain whose green trees form so charming a perspective to the imperial enclosure—all, without question, are the work of Kúblai Khan.

"In front of the palace," * says the Venetian traveller, "there is a great square wall, each side of which is a mile in length; it is fully ten paces high, and is whitewashed and loop-holed all round. At each corner of this wall there is a very fine and rich palace, in which the effects" [? war-harness] "of the emperor are kept."

It is easy to recognise in this the actual structure.

"To the north," continues Polo, "at a bowshot from the palace, there is a hill, or artificial mound, a hundred paces high, and a mile long, which is entirely covered with ever-greens."

This is the Coal Mountain.†

"As to the city itself, it measures six miles on each side, and lies foursquare. It has twelve gates, and on each gate there is a very fine large palace.‡ And the streets are so straight that one can see right along them from one

* Marco Polo says, "It [the palace] is enclosed all round by a great square wall."—TRANS.

† Polo calls this "the Green Mount." Dr. Lockhart, however, denies that the present Coal Mountain was made by the Mongols, and affirms that it was the work of the Ming emperors, who formed it from the excavations of the existing lake, on the site which the Mongol Palace had occupied. Colonel Yule remarks: "A green mount, answering to Polo's description, and about 160 feet in height, stands immediately in rear of the palace-buildings. It is called by the Chinese *King Shan*—'Court Mountain,' *Wan Su Shan*—'Ten Thousand Year Mount,' and *Mei Shan*—'Coal Mount,' the last from the material of which it is traditionally said to be composed (as a provision of fuel in case of a siege)."—Is there not some confusion here? The name *King Shan* means "Prospect Hill"; it is not the *King* for "Court"; and *Wan Shou Shan* (not *Su*, as Yule has it) is situated a considerable distance from Peking, being one of the summer palaces, though now nothing but a lovely ruin.—TRANS.

‡ These "palaces" are now, at any rate, no more than brick towers or bastions, either empty or filled with rubbish. By no conceivable stretch of language can the present buildings be described as "palaces."—TRANS.

end to the other, and are so laid out that each gate is clearly visible from the opposite one right across the city."

"And in the middle of the city there is an enormous palace, containing a large bell, which is struck at night; and after it has sounded three times no one may go out of doors." *

"Moreover, those who have to go out,"—on specified errands of necessity,—“are obliged to carry a lantern.”

No one will contest the exactitude of this topographical description. Nor is the traveller less veracious when he speaks of the manners of the time, which seem to have changed as little as the appearance of the place itself.

Ever since the Sûng dynasty China had been acquainted with the use of paper money, or, at least, with bank-notes. Under Kùblai Khan the Mint issued a paper representing its value in copper, and called a *ch'ao*. Is not this the *t'iao* of to-day? This was made of mulberry bark. The ounce of silver, the *liang* or *taël*, was worth a thousand copper cash; there were also tokens of different value, up to ten-taël notes.

To complete the resemblance between this fiduciary circulation and our own—when these notes, which Marco Polo calls *chartretes*, were worn out, they were taken to the Mint, from which fresh ones were issued, less a commission of 3 per cent., which we may take the liberty of considering somewhat high.

"The majority of the people of Cathay drink wine. It is made from rice, with good spices, and so good is it that it is better worth drinking than wine of any other sort; it is palatable, clear, and pleasant to look at. This wine is more intoxicating than other sorts, as it is very hot."

We will quote just one more detail, the truth of which is attested by our own experience every day.

* Marco Polo says nothing about the "enormous palace" (*grandissime palais*), which seems a strange description of the old Bell Tower. He says simply, "In the middle of the city there is a great bell."—TRANS.

"All over the province of Cathay there is a kind of black stone existing in beds in the mountains, which is dug out and used as fuel. If you supply the fire with it overnight, and see that it is well kindled, you will find it still alight in the morning; and it makes such capital fuel that no other is used throughout the country."

Every resident in Peking has a daily opportunity of verifying this fact.

The above description of the Mongol capital might have been written by one of our own contemporaries; as a fact, it is as old as the Crusades. Coming to us from so distant an antiquity, it seems to bring present times into proximity with the Mongols and the Ming. The fact is, that the list of Chinese dynasties is getting near its close. After a century of power, the Mongol sovereigns yielded the empire to the illustrious founder of a new Chinese monarchy, and his descendants were destined to rule it during three hundred years. The name of the Ming dynasty is familiar to all of us. Many monuments of its greatness have been preserved down to our own days; and it will suffice to mention those remarkable tombs which every one has visited, and which are situated in a spot so aptly chosen to assure for the august dead the repose of solitude. The ancient Kings of Egypt had a similar idea, in selecting as their place of sepulture a desert valley far removed from their great metropolis. There the bosom of the mountain was pierced by subterranean passages, the astonishing extent of which fills us with admiration, no less than the prodigious works of sculpture and painting that cover all the walls. We marvel at the aspect of the Pyramids; but the burial-places of the Kings of Thebes, hidden in the very bowels of the earth, are not a whit less surprising.

After the Mings had resided some time at Nanking, they removed to the northern capital. This was at the beginning of the 15th century. There was, in fact, a political necessity for the change, to which all the rulers

of the empire had in future to submit; for the cares of frontier-defence, as well as those of administration, summoned them to the North. Then it was that the walls of Peking received the form they bear to-day; we may admit that they were reconstructed, that the plan of the enclosure was subjected to certain modifications, that the number of gates, even, was reduced to nine, from the twelve that Polo talks about. These works were executed by the Emperor Yüing Lo, whose funeral monument is also one of the most remarkable among the thirteen tomb-temples which rise in the valley of the Shih-san Ling.

However, once more was there destined to grow up, in the North, a new sovereignty, which should in its turn spread all over China. Already, prior to the Mongol invasion, the Kin, or Golden tribe, had come from the country of the Eastern Tartars. The Manchu nation had become united, since the beginning of the 17th century, under the leadership of able chieftains. Attracted southward, like the races that had preceded it, it encountered, at the hands of the later princes of the Ming, a resistance not wholly inglorious. But, in a series of combats, the Eight Banners of the Manchus snatched the victory from forces undeniably superior to their own. The struggle lasted long. It began with the arrival of the founder of the Ts'ing dynasty in 1616, and did not end till 1644, when Peking, with the whole Empire, submitted to the imperial family now reigning.

This begins the contemporary epoch of China; this part of history is of yesterday, and we may fitly close here our view of the past of the Empire. The new dynasty has given two centuries of peace [?] to the vast regions over which its government extends; and during this tranquil period a new community of interests is slowly, but surely, bringing about a happy fusion with neighbouring races. We cannot forbear, at the very least, to mention the names of those illustrious sovereigns whose reigns shone with so bright a lustre. K'ang Hsi and Kien Lung, above all,

have left great fame behind them, and have found even in Europe enthusiastic historiographers. For Europe was no longer an unknown land to China; the 17th century had seen the establishment, for the first time, of regular relations between these distant realms; and, as we know, the earliest visitors had, from that time forward, described in detail the marvels which presented to their gaze an Empire so vast and a civilization so wonderfully developed.

Such was the first period of the relations between China and Europe. It was, in a sense, the heroic age of voyages of discovery, of the earliest missions. What names might we not mention! But China was still too far off; the uncertainty and rarity of voyages prevented these relations from becoming close and solid; and after two centuries, when on the very threshold of the present epoch, it seemed as though Chinese and Europeans had fallen back again into their former isolation from each other.

One reason for this, as has been well said by the Doyen of the Diplomatic Body in Peking, was simply, that twenty or thirty years ago it took as many months to get from Europe to China as it now takes weeks. But this is not all. The astonishing transformation that has come over another continent has produced influences of great power, which are exercised in a parallel direction. Fifty years ago, San Francisco did not exist; to-day, this great seaport sends out a continuous stream of communication, which is directed towards the eastern shores of Asia. Steam navigation, commerce, and the postal-services make the circuit of the globe; and China occupies one of the best-situated points upon this great highway, open to all the nations of the world.

Our age, then, has witnessed the establishment of new relations between China and Europe—relations consecrated by treaties which satisfy important interests, and based on principles universally acknowledged by international law. No people could now refuse to enter into bonds of friendship with the other nations; and experience will not fail to

show that these relations have a reciprocal utility. Such as they exist at present, these relations will probably never be interrupted, to the great advantage of the nations who participate in them, and, we may say, of the entire world.

If we compare the present state of affairs with that which prevailed in China scarcely thirty years ago, we shall find everything in favour of the more recent date. China is now enjoying profound internal peace throughout the vast extent of its possessions, and its relations with other countries are of the most cordial nature. A peaceful trade, established by European efforts, has been developed in a regular manner; and a moderate part of this, levied upon its profits, constitutes a safe and abundant resource to the imperial exchequer. By the side of some of the more considerable Chinese cities we find foreign colonies governed by European methods, which have brought upon this distant soil the industries, the arts, and the manner of living which exist in Europe. The telegraph, which reached Peking in 1881, relieves us of the ignorance under which we formerly laboured in regard to events which have most interest for us. The voyages, too, have become not only easier, but less expensive; and our absence from home, be it long or short, is no longer the perpetual exile it once was.

Under our very eyes, at the present moment, events of the highest importance are being daily enacted. After a long minority,* during which a princess renowned for her administrative ability conducted the government with a firm and experienced hand, the young Sovereign of China, having attained his majority, has assumed the reins of empire. We have all formed the sincerest wishes for the prosperity of the new reign. Upon a recent solemn occasion these wishes were officially formulated, and, in expressing them, the signatories believed themselves to be acting in faithful accordance with the feelings of all the

* ? Two long minorities.—TRANS.

foreign nations. All, in fact, have the deepest interest in the maintenance of those excellent relations which to-day bind them to the vastest empire in Asia; none can be indifferent to the events which are yet to influence its future and consolidate its greatness. It is, in fine, a commonplace to allude once more to the solidarity of nations; as the Chinese proverb has it, "All beings under the canopy of heaven form a single family."

FREDERIC H. BALFOUR.

MOROCCO.

I HAD long proposed to visit this country, but something had interfered. I had gone over Spain on one side of it and Algeria on the other, and looked at its coasts and the lighthouse of Cape Spartel from the P. and O. steamers, but it was only in 1887 that I managed to set foot in the Empire. I had read up all the books about it—English, French, German, and Italian—and nothing seemed new. I had the good fortune to meet Sir John Drummond Hay, the representative of the old system, and Sir W. Kirby Green, the newly installed representative of Great Britain. It so happened that, owing to the expected death of the Emperor, or some political crisis, such as are constantly occurring here, ships of all the great Powers were in the harbour, except of Great Britain; but the *Duke of Edinburgh* and other warships were lying ready actually within sight from Tangier in Gibraltar harbour. The secret of the political position is this: Spain would like to annex the Atlantic littoral, without having the means or energy to make any use of it; France would like to annex a large slice to Algeria up to the River Muluwa, as a kind of first bite, but in doing so would only add to her already existing difficulties. Great Britain, the United States, Italy, and Germany, will not allow any such schemes; the geographical position of Morocco places in its hands the key of the Mediterranean, and a strong Government holding Morocco, brought up to the level of other European Governments, might disturb the balance of power of Europe.

Let me describe the country geographically and physically. It lies betwixt 36° and 30° north latitude in the same zone as the south of Spain, Sicily, Syria, and Meso-

potamia, and betwixt 1° and 9° west longitude in the same zone as Spain, the west coast of France, and Great Britain and Ireland. It faces two great seas, the Mediterranean on the north, and the Atlantic on the west. It has numerous harbours capable of being made thoroughly efficient for warlike and commercial purposes, all now neglected and useless. From its south-west corner on the Atlantic to its north-eastern on the Mediterranean, extends the noble Atlas range, fringed on both sides by lower ranges of different altitudes. The highest peaks are at an altitude of 11,400 feet, and are covered with eternal snow. From both sides of the range descend rivers. The area of the empire is one-fourth part larger than that of France, which gives a better idea of its size than a long row of inappreciable ciphers; the population is about one-eighth of the population of France—six and a half millions.

And of what races is that population composed? Long before historic times, before Egypt had settled itself into a compact kingdom, blocking up the land road from Asia to Africa, certain tribes, who are described as Hamitic, akin to but distinct from the Semitic races, passed from Asia into Europe; they are totally distinct in their speech at least from other families; the Egyptians belonged to this family, and, settling on the Nile, rose to an eminence among the nations of the elder world. But beyond them, towards the west, their congeners spread as far as Morocco and beyond to the Canary Islands. When Dido left her Semitic home to found Carthage, she found the Hamitic people already in possession. The hypothesis, that the Libyan races came across the Mediterranean from Europe is quite fanciful; we have some idea of the early races, who occupied Italy and Spain; how comes it, that these immigrants into North Africa from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Nile all speak kindred languages, not in the least connected with any language ever spoken in Europe, but akin to the Egyptian, one of the oldest in the world, and akin to the language spoken in the region betwixt the Red Sea and the Upper

Nile? The Greeks founded colonies like Cyrene, but did not disturb the original inhabitants. The Romans conquered and colonized North Africa; but the races called by them "barbari" and "berber," survived, intermixed with the descendants of Semitic, Greek, and Roman colonists, and the Christianity of North Africa attained a great lustre. Expeditions were being constantly made against the mountaineers. The Vandals from Europe conquered the country about 450 A.D., and the Visigoths from central Europe in 621 A.D. The whole had been named Mauretania, but the province of Morocco was known as Tingitane Mauretania, so named from its capital called Tingis or Tingi, and now Tangier.

It is well to recollect, that this province was quite as much a Christian province as the neighbouring Hispania, or any province of the Roman Empire: it belonged sometimes to the Western or Latin Empire, and sometimes to the Eastern or Greek Empire seated at Constantinople. The Berbers were in constant revolt; but upon them and the colonists of Europe, against whom they rebelled, fell a sudden and unexpected chastisement, when, 681 A.D., Sidi Okba, the general of the Mahometan caliph in Egypt, fell with his Arab Mahometan invaders upon the province, annexed it, and called it "Maghrab al Aksa," or the Extreme West. Christianity was extirpated, and Tangier became the stepping-stone to the conquest of Spain. The original inhabitants accepted a light form of Mahometanism, but have maintained a rude independence in the mountains. They are known as Riff and Shlu, and their language is distinctly Hamitic. They are in fact more than half pagan; they were poor Christians, when that faith was dominant; they are poor Mahometans now; they are neither fanatics nor hypocrites. The descendants of the Arab settlers, if in the towns, were called Moors, and if in the open plain, Arabs, sometimes settled in permanent villages and sometimes in temporary huts as Nomads; these are called Dwars or Tent villages; the numbers

have been increased by the refugees from Spain, when Granada was conquered. The number of Jews is very considerable, amounting to half a million; some of these were polygamists: this class of the community was greatly increased by the expulsion of so many from Spain. To these three distinct factors in the population,—the Berber, the Arab, and the Jew,—must be added the Negro, amounting to at least one million. From the earliest period there has been a steady flow of negro slaves from the regions south of the Senegal and Niger rivers into Morocco, and it continues in full force to this day; and the finest races, the Hausa, Surhai, and Bambara have been imported. No idea of caste prevails, and the negro blood has acquired a strong influence, and apparently there is no prejudice against it, as in Europe and America, for the Emperor of Morocco himself betrays the negro origin of his female ancestors, and the well-known Sharif of Wazan is the child of a negress. This is remarkable, as in so many Asiatic races (and the Emperor claims Arab blood) the descent of the mother must be as pure as that of the father, and in one very large section of Oriental populations, the race of a man is traced through his maternal ancestors. In addition to these four great component parts of the population, there is the low European resident element, men escaped from Spanish prisons, or refugees from Spain, and a terribly mixed class below them. The Mahometan population of Morocco as a rule are monogamist, and the Berbers do not practise circumcision; women are not veiled, and are married after puberty, sometimes the result of choice of the parties. The power of divorce is restricted by rules: the Berbers eat the wild boar. The number of half-bloods is very considerable.

When the Mahometan invasion took place, the Christian European colonists, or half-bloods, disappeared; some were killed, some fled to Spain, but many took refuge with the Berbers in the mountains, and became blended in that race. But they left traces; the Berbers, contrary to the Maho-

metan practice, use the solar year, and call the names of the months by the Latin names. Latin words have survived in their language and fair faces among their women. We may reflect upon the unrecorded misery undergone by the women and the old men and children in these perilous times, and the same fate may await the descendants of the European settlers in British India; the men would be killed, and the women and children absorbed into the lower strata of the great Indian people, with some survivals of English words and customs. There appears to be in Morocco no practical prohibition of the use of wine.

The country itself divides itself into two great regions—north of the Atlas range, and south. The north is by far the most important, and has three zones: (1) the coast of the Atlantic and Mediterranean, (2) the intermediate plains, (3) the rugged highlands which form the frontier of the French colony of Algeria; these are respectively the residences of the Moor, the Arab, and the Berber, though of course there is a considerable admixture; at least, Berbers are found in the littoral and the plain, but it is doubtful, whether Moors or Arabs would venture into the mountains. As the country is called Morocco, the best name for the people in their collectiveness is "Moroccan," as "Moor" strictly applies only to a small section, and Maghrabi, or "Western," by which name they know themselves, is inapplicable in the mouths of nations who dwell in the same longitudes. Morocco was once the granary of Rome, and now scarcely produces enough for local consumption. They once domineered over the ships of Europe in the Mediterranean; now neither the State nor the people have a vessel afloat. Morocco is extremely fortunate in its supply of rivers, in fact the presence of the Atlas range secures a regular discharge of melted snow, and a regular supply of water for irrigation and navigation, if ordinary care were taken to control and husband it. In old times we read of forests in the description of the country; it is now quite treeless. There used to be large

lakes and regular rising of the rivers; there is a liability now to violent and destructive floods, and then a total want of water. The agriculture depends upon the seasons, and the soil even now is fertile; the style of farm-labour is so reduced, that a donkey yoked to a goat and a woman yoked to a cow can be seen pretending to plough the land. There is a regular recurrence of famines; no attempt is made by the ruler to assist the sufferers or anticipate the evil. A peasant describes the perils of the agriculturist as follows: "Locusts come sometimes; famines often; the revenue officials always." The farmer is deterred from increasing his cultivated area by the certainty that he will become 'a prey to greater exactions. The utter want of equity, or ordinary wisdom, on the part of the officials, and their constant change, renders the lot of all who are attached to the soil most miserable.

The traveller sometimes comes upon stretches of country of surprising fertility, showing what might be under a good government. The owners may perhaps be able to protect themselves, or be themselves men in power. The view of the Atlas range is charming from the plains. I transcribe the description of an eye-witness:—

"We had been climbing a narrow mountain pass for some hours, a relief from the dusty plain that up till now we had been travelling over, when, on reaching the summit, we saw the great mountains and the plain stretched out below us, Morocco half hidden in its groves of palm-trees. It was a lovely sight, the green below, and the great snow-peaks above, the nearer mountains a brilliant blue in the clear bright daylight. We stopped some time and gazed. One could scarcely realize that one was looking upon the great peaks of the Atlas range, rearing their heads some thirteen or fourteen thousand feet into the sky, the backbone, so to speak, of Africa, the barrier that divides the wild tribes of the Sus and Sahara from the Moors."

Attempts have lately been made, in spite of the extreme unwillingness of the authorities, to find tracks across the

range, and have partially succeeded. Good roads across the mountains would have the effect of controlling the provinces beyond, over which the authority of the Emperor is little more than nominal. Bordering on the Sahara are the Oases of Tuat, Figuig, and Tafilet; they are fertile, and occupied by another race of Berbers, the Tuwaregs, exceedingly independent. They live in walled villages called Ksúr, and their subjection would give trouble to any European Government. Beyond the Atlas, also, are the valleys of Dra, Sus, and Ghir, which are fed by the snow of the southern slopes, and find their way into the Atlantic. Their boundaries are most uncertain, but their importance is, that the slave caravans from the Sudán find their way through them. There is no shipping of slaves here, but they proceed by land. The introduction of a European Power at this place would extinguish the slave-trade and the slavery of Morocco, as it would bar the entrance of caravans. All importation of slaves into Algeria and Tunisia has ceased.

By a singular chance, a British factor in African politics has appeared at Cape Juby, on the West Coast of Africa, opposite to the Canary Islands, beyond the limits of any *bonâ fide* authority of the Emperor of Morocco. Here a commercial establishment has been fixed. The Emperor had the audacity to send people to attack it. This placed him on the horns of a dilemma: either it was not within his territory, and if so he was an invader; or it was within, and in that case he was bound to protect the lawful British trader. Mr. Donald Mackenzie appears to be a man of enterprise, and full of schemes, one of which is at a particular point to introduce the sea through a canal into a depressed basin, and thus create a vast internal sea, on which steamers could pass well on the way to Timbaktu. This scheme is somewhat of a rival in conception of Mr. Lessep's scheme of introducing the waters of the Mediterranean into the chain of lakes in Tunisia. Neither scheme seems very practicable. Another scheme, projected by a

Frenchman, but unsupported by capital, is to construct a railroad from Cape Juby to Timbaktu. All these schemes, which seem to be dreams in the nineteenth century, may become realities in the twentieth. Africa seems more suited for caravans of camels than railways or artificial seas. The climate would not suit either ; and who would maintain and protect such works in their length of desert ?

There have been, and are, a great variety of bad Governments in Asia and Africa, but none so bad as that of Morocco. The accounts of all writers agree in this, that Government has fallen to the very lowest possible ebb ; it is scarcely possible that things can go on longer as they are. Bad Governments generally perish by a foreign invader, by a national uprising, or change of dynasty. It is a remarkable illustration of the degradation of the people, that neither of the latter have been had resort to. The Emperor pretends to be a descendant of Mahomet, with as much proof of his pedigree as one of the innumerable Saiyads in India, who make the same vaunt. He is entirely absolute with regard to the persons and property of his subjects. Each change of the crown is accompanied by a civil war and the besieging of towns, and heads are cut off, and a new reign commences ; there is not a word to be said in favour of this sovereign and dynasty. He has a kind of council of relations and personal friends, who fill the offices usually held by ministers. A word of the Emperor removes them, plunders them, imprisons them, kills them ; and indeed, as far as character goes, they are hardly worthy of life. The official charged with foreign affairs resides at Tangier, beyond which no European representative resides, but a formal visit is allowed upon appointment. Much has been said of the advantage of the European Powers insisting upon residing at the capital ; but this would not help much, as the Emperor migrates with his whole court from Fez to Morocco, from Morocco to Mekinez, and spends a large part of his year in expeditions, attacking and plundering his own subjects under pretence of collecting revenues.

The power of the Emperor is theoretically limited by the Koran and Men of Religion, and practically by the advice and warning of the European representatives. As a fact, the area of the Empire is only half subject to the Emperor. What is called the Empire of Morocco is not identical in area with the region occupied by Moroccan nomads and settlers. Every province has a governor or *amil*, and every city a *kaid*. Among the Berber mountaineers each tribe has a chief, who is nominally under the governor. The Jews have their own ruler, and each village its head.

The servants of the State have no salary, or a ridiculously small one; in fact, they purchase their office, and are obliged to extort bribes and contributions from those whom they are sent to protect. Whilst in power, they are corrupt, unscrupulous, and cruel; but the day comes, when they are supposed to be fat enough, and the Emperor squeezes them, and makes them disgorge their plunder. The art of doing nothing is extensively cultivated. Procrastination, lies, and protestations are their weapons. It is difficult to say whether they have more in them of the bigot or the barbarian. The army, such as it is, is maintained, not to invade foreign territories, or protect its own frontiers, for the sea washes two sides; the desert is the boundary of the third, and the fourth, or French side, is saved by the interference of the Great Powers. The duty of the army is to collect taxes, to bully independent tribes, and conduct expeditions, which leave ruined villages and smoking homes behind them. The policy of the State seems to be to oppose progress and civilization and Occidental ideas in every form; to lean upon the minister of one country, to oppose the other, to try to cajole all, to wear them out by procrastination, to do nothing till ships of war compel obedience. Their fiscal policy is antiquated: the export of grain is forbidden, and every produce of the soil. No roads or ferries are allowed. There are signs all over the country of better days in the past—ruined cities and bridges, traces of old roads, blocked-up harbours,

decaying moles. This is a country in decadence, not in a virgin state. Of course, if Europeans were allowed to settle and hold property, matters would soon be brought to a crisis; but they are not allowed. Any proposal to erect a harbour is resented; the lighthouse of Cape Spartel was constructed under actual diplomatic violence; the submarine telegraph from Tangier to Gibraltar was constructed by the British representative without permission. The taxation in itself is not heavy in its incidence, but the mode of collection is so abominable, that the land is often left waste to spite the collector. That fertile feature of oppression is in full play—demands for presents at weddings, or funerals, or any possible occasion. All foreign travellers get an order for free quarters on the villages, and abuse the privilege. The desire for plunder is contagious; the soldiery exact what they like. The soil is fertile, but some amount of culture and manure is required, and nobody cares to make any outlay. There is no security for life; the Emperor sets the example of reckless murder: the officials do the same. The whole race seems to have deteriorated under this environment for centuries. The Berber mountaineers might have developed into something like the Hill-Rajputs of Northern India; the nomad Arabs might have developed into the really magnificent men of Arabia, or the orderly Mahometan classes of British India; the Jews might have become like the Jews of Europe; a blight has fallen upon all. It appears doubtful, whether, under a more favourable government, they would recover their lost fibre; a generation or two must pass away, and the old bad time be forgotten. It goes without saying, that anything in the way of public instruction, or press, or literature, does not exist.

The language spoken by the Moroccans is a subject not devoid of interest. Little enough of Hebrew do the Jews know. This is one of the widespread delusions, that the Jews in any part of the world speak Hebrew, the language of the old Testament, in their families as their ordinary

vernacular. As a fact, neither our Lord nor His apostles spoke Hebrew, which had become a dead language soon after the return from the Captivity. The Jews, scattered all over the world, spoke, as their vernacular, the language of the people amidst whom they dwelt; their learned men knew Hebrew as an acquired knowledge, and amongst themselves they had often a gross jargon. I found the Jews in Tunis all speaking Arabic, and the Jews in Morocco, as a rule, speak Arabic in the corrupted dialect of the West; a patois of Spanish is spoken on the coast; and the Arabs, whether settled in towns or nomads in the plains, speak Arabic. Gibraltar, called after its great Mahometan conqueror, "Jabal al Tarik," tells its own tale to any one who knows Arabic. The word "funduk," for "inn," is more curious, it is the Latin word *fundus* Arabized. The Executive Government is called Makhzan, analogous to our Treasury; but the word passed over the Mediterranean into Europe, and has given birth to the popular word in every city, "magazin." The Straits of Gibraltar were, in the Roman and Greek period, called the Pillars of Hercules, represented by Calpe and Abile, or the Rock of Gibraltar and the Ape's Mountains across the water. It never was explained what was the connection of Hercules with the Straits, and it has been ingeniously suggested, that the legend grew out of the Phœnician words, "he rokel," "the merchant," possibly alluding to Melkart, the national god of the Phœnicians, who were the first to discover the outlet leading on to the Fortunate Islands and the garden of the Hesperides, the first idea of the Canaries and Madeira. In Morocco was situated the famous mountain of Atlas, who supported the globe, whence the word has crept into general use in the library of the geographer and the class of the public school. Another notable legend is, that the giant Antæus was buried near Tangier, and that his wife Tinga gave the name to that very ancient town, which in its turn gave the name to the province. It goes without saying, that in the

country so geographically and politically situated, slavery and the slave-trade flourish. But it is not the worst form of slavery, as there are no plantations, and, without doubt, the most accursed form of involuntary labour is field work; the domestic life of a slave, who has become a Mahometan, is tolerable. Nor is the slave-trade caravan across the Sahara from Timbaktu accompanied by the usual horrors. It takes about sixty days, and is uninterrupted by warfare. I quote the following detailed account of the caravan and the trade :—

“The slave-caravan from Timbaktu arrived early last month at Tendúf, near the Wad Draa, in fifty-five days, and as you are aware, it takes seventeen days from Tendúf to Mogador. I met here one of the head-men of the caravan, one of the wealthiest traders, and also several other persons of the party, from whom I obtained the following details :—

“Two caravans left Timbaktu together, and travelled for eight days as far as Arawan, at which place they separated, one proceeding to Tanizrufit and Tuat, the other coming this way through Eldjuf, Djidi, and Tendúf. The traders come from Sus, Marakesh, Fez, Tlemsen, Tunis, and Tripoli, to await the arrival of the caravan at Tendúf, where most of the traffic with Timbaktu is transacted; what is not sold there being taken to the fair at Sidi Hamadon-Mussa, near Ilirgh, in Sus. I must mention, that the caravan which arrived February 2nd, consisted of 350 men, with 650 camels and 520 slaves, the majority girls from eight to sixteen, and boys of from six to twelve. A camel-load is generally 300 lbs., which is not excessive; but their owners do not overload them, so as to be able to mount the slaves on them when necessary.

“The caravan brought—

40 loads Ostrich feathers, worth at Mogador 75 to 80 francs per kilo.

85 „ Ivory (some tusks weighing 30 lbs.), worth 800 francs per 54 kilos.

- 120 loads Giraffe skins, sold at Tendúf at 90 to 100 francs per 100 kilos. These skins go to the Atlas, and not to Mogador.
- 30 „ Incense, a kind of aromatic resin, of which there are two qualities, white and black, worth 400 to 600 francs per 100 kilos.
- 20 „ White and blue Djelabs, of linen and of cotton, very well made; and also piece goods of camel's hair, for tents and bur-nous. The load is worth about 500 to 600 francs.
- 15 „ Camels' hair and goats' hair, value 100 to 140 francs per load.
- 225 „ Gum Arabic, worth 100 francs per 54 kilos.
- 45 „ Wax, worth 90 to 100 francs per 54 kilos.
- 30 camels laden with water, provisions, etc.

650 camels.

“I could not ascertain the quantity of gold dust brought, as, not being ordinary merchandise, it is carried on the person; but I reckon that each of the 350 men of the caravan had 1 to 4 parcels, containing 30 to 40 metkels each parcel, worth 13 to 14 francs the metkel, which weighs a little less than 15 francs in French gold coin. I calculate the total value of the merchandise and slaves by this caravan at about three million francs (£120,000).”

In 1876, Lord Granville addressed the following letters to Sir J. D. Kay—

“FOREIGN OFFICE, *July 2nd.*

“SIR,—

“The reports on slavery in Morocco, forwarded by you with your despatches of the 1st of May and of the 10th of June, show that this evil exists in a form and to an extent which it is painful to learn. Though the reports differ as to the treatment which slaves receive at the hands of their masters, they show that men, women, and children are hawked about through the streets of many of the towns,

and sold by auction ; that they may be re-sold on the death or bankruptcy of their owners ; that there is no security against the separation of wives from husbands, or of children from parents ; that cruelty is not infrequent, and that the only remedy for which an ill-used slave can hope, who cannot obtain his freedom, is a change of master. No security is provided for the chastity of women, nor for their rescue from degradation. Many instances, perhaps the majority of cases, might be appealed to, in which slaves are kindly treated and well cared for, but the fact cannot be gainsaid, that the system of slavery exists in the Empire with some of its most revolting features.

" Her Majesty's Government have no ground for interference founded on conventions, nor do they wish to make protests in individual cases ; but they would, in the interests of humanity, make an earnest appeal to the Emperor, and ask him to consider, whether the time has not come when he would be ready to place himself on a level with other civilized rulers, by taking steps to abolish slavery in his dominions. They are aware of the difficulty which the Government of the Emperor may meet in dealing with a long-established custom, but that difficulty has been found not to be insuperable by other Mahometan sovereigns. His Majesty might be assured, that any step taken by him in this direction would be welcomed not only in this country, but in the civilized world ; whereas the position of his State, as the only territory bordering on the Mediterranean, in which no effort is made to combat this evil, must become daily more intolerable in the eyes of all nations, whatever may be their religious creed.

" I have to instruct you to make a strong representation to the Moorish Government in this sense, and to lose no opportunity of renewing your efforts whenever a favourable opportunity may offer."

Some slight improvement was made, but the evil is still rampant. Mr. Donald Mackenzie lately visited Morocco,

and was entrusted with a memorial from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. He reported as follows :—

“ When the Anti-Slavery Society heard, that I was coming out to Morocco, they entrusted a letter to me on the question of slavery for presentation to the Sultan, which I hoped he would accept, as I was most anxious to serve this excellent Society, and I trusted the Sultan would favourably consider its prayer on behalf of the slaves. I then handed to His Excellency the Wazir the petition, which he read, and said he would present it to the Sultan. He remarked that some time ago the British Government made representations to the Sultan on the question of selling slaves in the public markets, and that His Majesty had issued orders, that there should be in future *a separate place for the sale of slaves, and not in the public markets as before*. He further remarked, that the holding of slaves was in accordance with the Mahometan faith, and, if they were to give liberty to the slaves, they would die of hunger. I remarked that in Turkey and other Mahometan countries the slave-trade was abolished, and I hoped Morocco would follow the example of those countries, and blot the iniquity of slavery out of their empire. With this our interview came to a close, and I was heartily glad that the address had now a fair chance of reaching the hands of the Sultan. The Wazir was very kind and attentive all the time, and discussed the slave-question in a friendly manner.”

This indicates how far the Emperor has moved in 1889. The Mahometan Sultan of Zanzibar has abolished the slave market, but as yet has not had courage to abolish the status of slavery in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, as has been pressed upon him by the British Government. In Egypt slavery is slowly dying out under the pressure of public opinion, and the slave-trade is destroyed by the state of the southern frontier. In Tunis the Bey was more noble, and, even before the annexation by France, had abolished slavery and the slave-trade, showing how ridicu-

lous was the pretence that Mahometanism exists by the slave-trade. We in British India know that fifty million Mahometans get on very well without slaves.

There is something contaminating in the air where slavery prevails. I copy a notice from a native paper:—

“According to the journal, *Almogrer Alakia*, of Tangier, the French Government has instructed M. Ordega to prohibit French subjects, or Moslems protected by France in Morocco, from holding, buying, or selling slaves. The English Minister has already sent to the English vice-consuls, and to those of nations diplomatically represented by England in Morocco, a circular to the above effect. It is expected, that the other Powers who have representatives in Morocco would follow suit. Satisfactory as it undoubtedly is to record these prohibitions,—precursors, it is to be hoped, of the complete extinction of the slave-trade in Morocco,—the mere fact of their promulgation appears to prove, that hitherto slavery in that country has been semi-officially protected by Christian Powers supposed to be anxious to put an end to it.”

We see, that in Morocco it was not only African Mahometans who purchased and held slaves, but Christian Europeans.

One of the inevitable consequences of an intolerable absence of proper administration, and upright executive and judicial courts, is, that the strong alien Governments whose subjects have commercial dealings with such States, insist, and properly insist, by force of arms, that injustice should not be done to such subjects, and they constitute themselves judges of the fact, and if negotiations fail, the inevitable war-ship appears. It is out of the question, that any kingdom can, like Japan and China in olden times, send all other nations to Coventry, and lead a secluded life of their own. All such barriers are broken down. With countries like Turkey, China, and Japan, treaties have been made, which are galling to the dignity of the inferior power;

but it is their own *misfeasance* that has brought it about. They have attempted to rule nations without learning the art of rule, and they find it difficult to regain their position. Japan is trying to do so at present. But a bad thing begun leads on to worse; the legitimate protection of men of British blood, engaged in lawful commerce, leads on to the protection of Maltese adventurers, also British subjects, men of half-blood, men who had, somehow or other, become British subjects, and the British representative finds himself the protector of an anomalous herd of irresponsible and discreditable people; and the representatives of all other States in Europe and America are in the same position. More than this. The protection extends not only to these subjects when injured in their persons or unjustly sued, but is made an instrument to oppress the unprotected subjects of the Emperor of Morocco, by false suits brought by Moroccans protected by European or American powers. For fear of misstating my case, I quote public journals.

"If you ask a Moorish landowner why he does not increase his crops, he will tell you that, did he do so, it would only excite the cupidity of the Sultan, or the kaid, and might bring ruin upon himself and his family. This deplorable state of things gave rise perhaps to the system of '*protégés*,' which has been productive of so many and such scandalous abuses. The primary object of the foreign consulates and legations in granting protection papers to native Moors and Jews, who were in any way connected with or employed by foreigners, was evidently the laudable one of saving them from the cupidity and tyranny of the Moorish authorities, and thereby securing the interests of their foreign employers; but when these *protégés* were found to be misusing their privileges, their protection papers should have been withdrawn. The system degenerated into a source of income by the sale of these papers to persons not really entitled to them; and this irregular protection, afforded indiscriminately, soon led to

grievous consequences. Availing themselves of their position as *protégés*, many of them, chiefly native Jews, have preferred claims, which the Sultan has been obliged to settle under pressure from the legations—claims, in the majority of cases, either grossly exaggerated or shamefully usurious, and which have been collected from the Sultan's subjects under circumstances of great cruelty. Then again, they trump up extortionate demands and doubtful claims against alleged debtors, who, without investigation, or being given any opportunity of contesting the claim, are forthwith imprisoned and allowed to rot there until they pay. Thus, and in other ways, the irregular '*protégé*' has become a source of much evil and abuse, and the system of granting such protections should be abolished or modified. The most revolting practice arising from it, is that of 'selling a Moor.' A native will often pay as much as £400 to the person who will procure him a patent or paper of protection. This native may be possessed of considerable property, upon which the kaid of the district keeps a watchful eye. When the latter discovers that his prey has escaped him through the ægis of a foreign legation, he will, if it be worth his while, offer a handsome sum to the patron of the wealthy native for the withdrawal of the protection. Well, this has been done, *and by Europeans*, to their own disgrace and to the dishonour of their country. Need we say more to advocate the speedy recession of all these 'irregular protections.'"

And again,—

"Mr. REED LEWIS, American Consul-General at Tangier, has arrived in London on leave of absence. He has been engaged in endeavouring to secure the liberation of the Moors who were confined in prison on American claims under the *protégé* system, which the United States Government have now decided to abandon. There is reason to believe that some untried Moorish prisoners are still detained in captivity on the claims of English *protégés*, but

Sir Kirby Green, Her Majesty's representative at Tangier, is doing his best to obtain their release."—*Daily News*, August 11th.

On this subject we quote the following from *El Anunciador*, a paper published in Gibraltar :—

"Within the last few months there had been in the Laraiche and Alkazar prisons seventeen men at the suits of American *protégés*. Nine of the prisoners have now been released, three have been relieved by death from their sufferings, and the rest, in order to obtain their liberation, have compounded with their alleged creditors. A most serious evil of the system, under which *protégé* claims are enforced, is, that the alleged debtors are not tried, or even confronted with the persons claiming against them; they have no opportunity of showing receipts or of proving payment of the sums alleged to be due; and recent investigations have brought to light the fact that many of the foreign *protégé* claims are false and fraudulent. The prisons themselves are filthy, fetid dungeons, where the inmates are heavily ironed, and at night chained together with iron collars round their necks. When it is remembered that many of the suits are made by natives who have not the slightest right to the protection of a foreign flag, it is evident that a full inquiry into the entire system would be of much use, and would probably lead to a reform which is so urgently required."

And again,—

"The United States Consul-General is reported to have asked his Government to send at once a war-vessel to Tangier, in order to force the release of a Moor under American protection, who has been imprisoned by the Moorish authorities at Rabat.

"The Moorish authorities refuse to release him; and the American protection has been declared void on the ground, that a civil suit was still pending against the man in the

Moorish courts when the Consul-General issued the patent of protection.

"It is stated that the United States Consul-General has received a reply from the Moorish Government declining to accede to the demands made by the United States in reference to the dispute arising out of the imprisonment at Rabat by the Moorish authorities of a person under American protection.

"Serious apprehension consequently exists here that the United States Government will take rigorous measures against Morocco."

It was hoped that at the meeting of the Powers in the Madrid Convention of 1880, one of the first measures carried would have been the abolition of the *protégé* system; but, on the contrary, the whole system has been consolidated. The Consuls of the thirteen powers have guaranteed to them very properly authority over their own countrymen, but also further wide privileges, which have given birth to cruel hardships. It is attested by independent Europeans residing at Tangier, that some persons make a regular system of bringing false charges, and that no native is safe. The Consul of the complainant transmits it to the Moroccan official; he passes the order, without any investigation, for his arrest and imprisonment, and there he remains until his friends buy his release. It is clear, that the Emperor of Morocco is not the only offender against law and justice within his dominions.

It is necessary in this practical age to be practical; the days of chivalry and crusades are past. "Will it pay?" is the ultimate argument of the Commons of Great Britain. "Can we not let affairs glide?" is the policy of our Statesmen. What should be the policy of Great Britain? It has consistently maintained the integrity of the Moroccan Empire, on the double ground, that it safeguards the freedom of the navigation of the Mediterranean, and that it supplies the necessary victuals of the garrison of Gibraltar.

The Moroccan nation suffers, because the geographical position of her country happens to affect in a certain way the interests of a powerful nation a long way off to the north, which has relations with provinces and nations in Asia a still farther way off to the east. It is openly asserted by some, that the centre of gravity of the political world is no longer in the Mediterranean, but in the Atlantic; the alternative mails to China *viâ* North America may accentuate this conviction. Why then, say these critics, occupy Malta and Gibraltar? Let them go! The battles of the world will no longer be fought in that internal sea any more than in the Baltic. Italy, Austria, Greece, and Turkey will hold their own against France; if the worst comes to the worst, the British fleet can seal up the Mediterranean by blocking the Straits of Gibraltar in Europe and the Straits of Perim, near Aden, in Asia. In these days of fleet steamers, our communication can be kept open with Asia *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope; and the petty States and companies, which now rival us by the help of the Suez Canal, would be extinguished, if the exit from the Red Sea were barred.

Other speculators have proposed to make over Gibraltar to Spain in exchange for Ceuta and a free hand in Morocco. This would be indeed the beginning of the end. France would be conciliated by the cession of Morocco up to the river Muluwa, and the provinces of Figuig and Tuat in the Sahara, which she so much covets. The pride of Spain would be gratified by the cession of Gibraltar, and Italy appeased by a grant of Malta and a free hand over Tripolitana. The restoration of Morocco would then commence. A deputation of civil officers from British India, of the non-regulation type, under a capable chief, would soon know what they were about. The danger would be not so much from the people as from the alien immigrants from Europe, who would flock into the country.

All such speculations are mere dreams; and it would be an act of extreme folly on the part of Great Britain to part

with her two fortresses, the legacies of past generations, or to have anything to do with the internal administration of Morocco; and the sooner that she gets out of Egypt the better. In the event of a great Continental war, her hands should be free from all such territorial embarrassments on the Mediterranean coasts. The outer world is her oyster, and the work already laid upon her is beyond her strength; but the retention of the two fortresses of Malta and Gibraltar is absolutely necessary to maintain her position as a maritime nation.

In late years some attempts have been made to carry a knowledge of saving truth to the poor Moroccans. Thousands of missionaries have sailed in view of the West Coast and North Coast of this Empire, on their way to the most distant countries of the world, to distribute translations of the Scriptures and carry the gospel; but no one ever thought and cared for Morocco. Martyrs have died for Africa, but none for Morocco; no one knew what languages were spoken by the population. Mauretania had been the centre of a Christian Church up to the time of the Mahometan invasion. Christianity had been trodden out. The candlestick had been removed entirely, as entirely as those of the seven Churches in Asia, and no one cared to replace them. Nothing was done until 1875 for the lost sheep of the house of Israel, turned out of Europe by so-called Christian monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella. Persecuted and insulted and trodden down by ignorant Mahometans, themselves more than half pagans, who knew little or nothing of the real nature of Islam, except that it tolerated slavery, concubinage, and unnatural crime—a toleration which they freely availed themselves of. There is now a mission to the Jews at Mogadore; but to be effective work must be conducted in the Jewish quarter as in a heathen village, for of Divine truth men, women, and children know nothing. The British and Foreign Bible Society has in the last few years opened an agency at Tangier, and commenced a translation of the New Testament in the Riff

dialect of the "Berber" language, and supplies Arabic copies to the Arabic-speaking population. A great deal more has to be done as our knowledge becomes more accurate. The North African Mission has commenced its work at Tangier by founding a hospital, and sending out missionaries, male and female, lay and ordained. Already English women are occupied in their quiet work in the town of Fez and at Arzila on the coast. It is the day of small things; but the work has been commenced, and some have died of disease at their post. The Spanish Roman Catholic fraternities have not been behindhand; but their work lies chiefly among the low Spanish population of Tangier.

What is my final impression at the close of a study of this Empire and people, far lower than the people of Egypt and Algeria, and, owing to the loss of centuries of culture, than the people of Syria, Asia Minor, and Trans-Caucasia? I have visited them all. It would be an insult to the great Mahometan races of British India to compare noble, soldier, scholar, public official, merchant, common people, with the degraded representatives of similar Mahometan classes in Morocco. I feel sentiments of a very diverse nature: pity for the debasement and decay of a warlike race, which has lost even the memory of its past greatness; admiration for the virile and gracious majesty of their aspect, dress, demeanour—for this is all that remains in their sad and silent loss of dignity and simplicity. I feel something of indignation at the sight of so much festering barbarism at the door and within sight of Europe, and shame to think that it is owing to the jealousy of the great European powers, each seeking its own fancied interest, that the real—very real—misery of this country is indefinitely prolonged; and I see no prospect of any termination.

It marks, as with an iron line, that there is in very deed a geographical and ethnical limit to civilization; for the Moroccans neither desire it nor wish to have it. Foreign conquest, and a considerable change of the political atmo-

sphere, must precede any improvement. The Augean stables of Fez and Morocco must be swept clean by a very strong hand. The very *illuvies* of European nations, the scum of our towns, the escaped criminals from our prisons, men bankrupt in fortune and character, represent the European name and Christian religion; and, under the precious *protégé* system, the greater the dishonesty of the alien European, the more shameless and cynical is the protection afforded to him by the representative of his country.

Morocco had once a great history; it is now "*L'empire qui croule*." Its Mahometan rulers had wealth, power, and learning. Architectural remains witness to their civilization. The famous cathedral tower of Seville has no equal of its kind in Europe, but there are two of the same mould in Morocco. Granada, Cordova, Seville, Tlemshin in Algeria, with their noble palaces, and the noble works of great Arabic authors, bear witness to a great past. The present dynasty, from Tafileet, south of the Atlas, called the Filili, have misruled the country for three centuries, and brought it very low indeed. The entire failure of the policy of isolation for a nation is a great moral lesson to rulers. Stagnation in a pond breeds evil diseases and filthy odours; so it is with stagnant national life. Of Morocco it may be said, that the heart is sick, and that the kingdom is one putrefying sore. A century ago Moroccan pirates were the scourge of the Mediterranean. Many a Christian man, woman, and child has, from no fault of their own, been captured at sea, or kidnapped from their own secluded village in some Christian land, and been condemned to death or a life of shame. We can scarcely now realize to ourselves what was the hopeless feeling of refined ladies, or the fearful future of poor Christian children, on whom such a chastisement fell. A Nemesis has fallen upon the nation that did such things.

I have sat and talked with Christians (out of Europe) in a very low state of culture, and far removed from the

European level—at any rate they were monogamists : they knew what was right and what was hopelessly wrong, “*malum per se*.” They may have been weak Christians ; but the lowest of them had a conscience better instructed than the Emperor of Morocco, his wazir, and his officials, and his people. I have lived on intimate terms with the Hindu and Mahometan people of British India in their humble life, watched their ways in their families, listened to their words ; but none are so fallen intellectually, socially, whether as men and citizens or fathers of families, as the wretched Moor, Berber, Arab, and Jew of Morocco. They sit on the very threshold of Europe, to warn the upheaving masses, who desire to rule their betters, as to what constitutes a State. Turkey’s conquered provinces, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro, had never fallen so low in the hour of their deep disgrace. What shall be said of a minister of State, who receives the cast-off wife of the Emperor as an honour, or considers the introduction of his own daughter into the imperial harem as a stroke of business ? States are built up of men, not of creatures vile in their family relations ; for the family is the component part of a State, and a conglomerate of vile families must be a vile State. This has never been the case in British India. The endogamous characteristic of the Hindu is well known, and the Mahometans of India carefully marry among themselves ; hence their race is reasonably pure, and at least free from the taint of the inferior non-Aryan races, and of the Asiatic negrite, and the equatorial African negro.

It is not that the negro, in his pure state, with a favourable environment of gentle culture and sufficient nourishment, is not susceptible of education, moral and religious ; and, with the restraining power of an European race, is not capable of becoming a good citizen, an educated man, and a believing Christian, surrounded by pure family ties. Experience on the coast of West Africa, and in the Southern States of the great American Republic,

supply proof that it is so. But the negro slave is ravished from her home beyond the Niger, dragged like a beast across the Sahara, exposed stark naked as a slave for sale in the market-place, transferred as a machine from one brutal master to another, himself devoid of all culture, all respectful feeling towards the weaker sex, whom he would flog, strike, or kill without compunction. The issue of a strong race like that of the Anglo-Saxon from such a degraded consort might prove strong enough to resist the poisoned contact of such a confusion of distinct races ; but the issue of a debased Hamitic or Semitic father from a negro slave must be something worse than himself, and generation after generation there has been a process of discoloration of the skin and degradation of the type. The Emperor himself, and the Sharif of Wazan, who married an American woman, were more than half negroes. The celebrated chief minister, who was the most powerful man in the kingdom, was a pure negro.

Matters cannot remain as they are, and he would be a bold prophet who predicted what will happen when the present Emperor terminates his unworthy life. There will be a bad quarter of an hour for the people when the event happens, and after that something may emerge from the future better : it cannot be worse.

ROBERT CUST.

THE BARBARY CORSAIRS.*

PART I.

THE story of the Barbary Corsairs, as set forth by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole in one of the latest additions to the "Story of the Nations" series, is one of the strangest episodes in the long succession of wars of religion waged between the West and the East, between Christendom and Islam, between the Aryan European under the banner of the Cross, and the Turanian and Semitic races who followed the fortunes of the now fast-waning Crescent.

To the civilized inhabitants of Europe, the hardy sea-rovers who sailed from Algiers or Salée were pestilent pirates, necessary nuisances, to be cajoled by compliments or bought off with bribes as a less tedious, less costly, and more effectual means of checking their depredations than a recourse to arms. To the Muhammadan world the Corsair was a Mujáhid, a warrior of the Faith, a defender of the outposts of Islam, and a champion of the Holy War; to whose conquering sword the persons and property of all the unbelievers were a lawful prey. The three piratical States of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which in the opinion

* "The Barbary Corsairs." "Story of the Nations" Series. By Stanley Lane-Poole. With additions by Lieutenant J. D. J. Kelly, U.S. Navy. London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: G. P. Putman and Sons. 1890.

"The Scourge of Christendom." By Sir R. L. Playfair. London. 1884.

"Histoire de Barbarie et de ses Corsaires, des Royaumes et Villes d'Alger, de Tunis et de Tripoly." Par le R. P. Fr. Pierre Dan. Paris. 1649.

"Tohfát ul Akhbar fí Asfár ul Bahár; the History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks, translated from the Turkish of Mustafa bin Abdulla Haji Khalifa, urf Katib Chelebi." By James Mitchell. London: printed for the Oriental Translation Fund by A. J. Valpy. 1831.

of Europe were a standing reproach and disgrace to Islam, were in the eyes of the Mussulmans its pride and glory.

Though the Barbary Corsairs have here found a place in the History of the Nations, it is not to be imagined that they formed a separate nationality. In these days, when the fame of their exploits has faded, and the terror of their name has been forgotten, they are generally supposed to have been Moors, from the locality of the chief markets of their human traffic. They were, however, colonies of Ottoman Turks whom the fortune of war brought to the coast of Barbary during the long succession of wars waged by the earlier Sultans of the House of Othman against the Christian maritime powers of the Mediterranean. These Turks formed the governing body and the State militia in all the three Barbary regencies; and furnished most of the captains and the chief fighting strength of the Corsairs. The rest of the motley crew was made up by renegades from all the nations of Christendom; by the Kuloghliis (sons of slaves) born to the Turks by captive women; by Moors, Arabs, and negroes. Their whole political and social system was founded on piracy and supported by slavery; the revenues of the State and the wealth of the community was derived from the former, while the latter furnished all the art and industry of the piratical commonwealth.

In the Middle Ages there was no rigid line of distinction drawn between Piracy and Privateering. Andrew Barton cruised against English merchant-men when England and Scotland were at peace; and yet his destruction by King Henry the Eighth's ships of war was made a ground of complaint by his master, James the Fourth. There were no State navies; and maritime war was carried on chiefly by private adventurers. The Turkish Corsairs who appeared in the *Ægean* after the capture of Constantinople were simply privateers making war on the Sultan's enemies under the Sultan's flag, and with as much legality as if they had been under modern letters of marque. More serviceable than modern privateers, they obeyed the summons of

their sovereign whenever he had a naval expedition on hand, transported his troops, convoyed his store-ships, and freely risked their lives and vessels in attacking the forts and fleets of his enemies. "The Turke," says old Knolles, "makes great account of these Pyrats as not his least strength at sea."

Old Kurt Oghli (the Son of the Wolf), "the Pyrat of Halicarnassus," steered the barge of Sultan Selim the Grim upon the Nile, when that conqueror overthrew the monarchy of the Mamelukes in Egypt, and afterwards commanded a squadron of the Imperial fleet when Sultan Suliman the Magnificent besieged the Knights of St. John in their island fortress of Rhodes. The early history of the Barbary Corsairs is inseparable from that of the maritime wars of the Turks; and Mr. Lane-Poole has given us chapters treating at length of the sea-fight off Prevesa, the Siege of Malta, and the Battle of Lepanto; that "crowning mercy," so glorious for Christendom, so fatal to the hopes of Islam, "whereby," said Cervantes, "was dispelled the grievous error which the nations of Christendom had so long laboured under, in believing the Turks invincible by sea."

A grievous error indeed; for the Turk was never meant for a sailor. Nature and the traditions of his race had made him a nomad warrior and rider, a rover of the plains and not of the main. But the marvellous energy which hurried the race of Othman along their new-found path of conquest (perhaps a reflex eddy of the mighty Mogul deluge which had just submerged all Asia) overleaped every obstacle, and surmounted the disadvantages of an uncongenial element and an untried career. No sooner had the Turkish warrior reached the shores of the *Ægean* than he became as formidable to his foes on the deck of his war-galley as ever he had been on the back of his war-horse. When the Ottomans first crossed into Europe they had to hire Genoese galleys to transport them across the narrow straits; but they soon made themselves at home upon the

new element; and bands of hardy Corsairs issued from the ports and harbours of Asia Minor to prey upon the Christian islands of the Archipelago, which were one after another conquered and colonized for Islam, and in their turn sent forth fresh swarms of sea wolves to harass the coasts of Greece and Italy. Among these sea rovers were four brothers, Ishák, Uruj, Khizr, and Iliás, sons of a Turkish Sipáhi who had been granted land in Lesbos when that island was annexed by the Sultan Muhammad the Conqueror, in A.D. 1462, according to Mussulman chroniclers: Christian historians affirm them to have been the children of a Greek renegade of the island. Both accounts may be true, for the Ottoman ranks were then continually recruited by renegades, and Ya'kub the Sipáhi may well have been one of them. The eldest brother, Ishák, took to trade; the three younger preferred a more adventurous life. But "the cursed crossed pirates of Rhodes," the valiant Knights of St. John, made the path of Moslem enterprise a perilous one in the Levant; and the brothers Khizr and Iliás were unlucky enough to meet their eight-pointed cross upon the war-path. Iliás was killed, and Khizr made prisoner by the knights, but was subsequently ransomed by his brothers. Uruj had been fortunate in his cruises, and was now the master of two armed galleys; and with these he determined to seek his fortune on the Barbary Coast where the Moors were waging an unequal war against the might of the infidel Spaniards.

Ever since the Arab conquest of Africa under the successors of Muhammad, maritime wars had been waged between Christians and Mussulmans all along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The Arabs not only subdued Spain, but occupied all the larger islands—Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles. Moslem sea-rovers from Spain founded a piratical State in the island of Crete, which preyed on Christian commerce for more than two centuries. Al Mujáhid, the Corsair King of Majorca, ravaged the coasts of Italy in the tenth century. The arrival of the Normans

on the Mediterranean shores, and the rise of the naval power of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa, again turned the balance in favour of the Christians; and though the ports of Barbary often harboured Corsairs, which preyed on Christian commerce, they were held in check, not only by the Genoese and Pisan fleets, but by the Moorish kings on the coast, who found their account in favouring legitimate trade. Mahdiya, called by the Christians "Africa," a strong fortified town on the coast of Tunis, was a great resort of Corsairs; and in A.D. 1390 the Genoese proclaimed a crusade against it; and the expedition, undertaken at their cost, attracted many of the nobles and knights-errant of Germany, France, and England. A great armament was collected, which landed and laid siege to Mahdiya, "but at length," says Hakluyt, "constrained with the intemperancy of the scalding air in that hot country, breeding in the army sundry diseases, they fell to a compensation on certain articles, and so, sixty-one days after their arrival, they returned home."

For some centuries, however, the relations of Barbary with the opposite Christian coasts had been pacific upon the whole; and in what hurt and damage was done between them, the loss did not fall most heavily on the Christians. But towards the end of the fifteenth century, the flames of fanaticism were rekindled, partly by the dread inspired in the Christians by the victorious progress of the Turkish arms in the East, but principally by the conquest of the remnant of the Moors in Andalusia and their expulsion from Spanish soil by the victorious arms of Ferdinand the Catholic. The cruelties exercised on those who remained, to force them to embrace Christianity, excited the religious fanaticism of the Africans to frenzy. The exiled Moors avenged themselves by continual raids on the Spanish coasts, connived at by their compatriots, the Spanish Moriscoes; and their annoyances became so serious that the Spaniards determined to deprive them of the means of further mischief by following them into Barbary. Cardinal

Ximenes fitted out a fine fleet and army, which he himself commanded in the reduction of Oran (Vahrán); on which occasion, according to the pious Cardinal, "both the blessed Saviour and the false Prophet Muhammad conspired to deliver the enemy into our hands." The mission of Muhammad was as truly supernatural to the Spaniards of Ximenes' time as to their infidel foes, only the former ascribed its success to the inspiration of Satan, the Ahriman of the Christian theology of the Middle Ages.

Few fights were fought in those days between Moslem and Christian without heavenly portents on both sides: Khyr ud Din Barbarossa stilled the waves with a verse of the Koran at the battle of Prevesa; and on this occasion of the capture of Oran, Providence miraculously answered the prayers of Ximenes by repeating the sign vouchsafed to Joshua, if we may trust the Catholic historians of the siege: "To accommodate the Christians, as the day was far advanced when the action was begun, the sun was permitted to stand still for several hours." Men whose fervent faith would swallow this and the like stories, were apt to make short work of unbelievers; and Navarro, the Spanish general, swept with his fleet and army along the coast of Barbary eastwards, his progress marked by "the brutal licence and ferocity, which," as Prescott says, "seem to stain religious wars above all others." He established Spanish posts all along the coast, in the island before Algiers at Bujeya, and at Tripoli; and he received the submission of all the Moorish kings, and well earned the hatred of all their people. The Turkish Corsairs, who now began to find their way to the shores of Al Maghrab al awsat (Middle Barbary) from the Levant, were hailed by the Moors as brethren in the faith, and as valuable allies against the detested and infidel Spaniards.

Uruj, the rover of Mytilene, was welcomed by the king of the Beni Hafs dynasty of Tunis, who permitted him to establish himself on his coasts on condition of his rendering him a fifth of his plunder. Uruj Reis accordingly

established himself and his followers in the fortified post of Halk al Vad (the throat of the channel; Goletta) at the entrance of the inlet which led to the city of Tunis from the sea. From this secure refuge he scoured the seas and plundered the coasts; and the Moorish king was well satisfied with his share of the booty. He soon became only too well known to the Spaniards and Italians, who nicknamed him *Barbarossa*, it is generally supposed on account of his red beard; but Mr. Lane-Poole plausibly suggests that it may be simply the corruption of the Turkish "*Baba Uruj*" (Father Uruj), the name by which he was known to his crew. Or it might perhaps mean only the Barbary rover, as we find the terms "*Barberos*" and "*Barberos*" applied generically to the Corsairs in old English and French writings.

Uruj *Barbarossa*, whether the son of a Greek renegade or no, was a true Turk, brave as a lion, generous to his friends and followers, treacherous and cruel to his foes; hating Christians with an exceeding hatred, and despising all Muhammedans who were not Turks.

His first notable exploit was the capture of two large galleys belonging to the Pope, with a much inferior force. "The wonder and astonishment," says Haedo, "that this noble exploit caused in Tunis, and even in Christendom, is not to be expressed, nor how celebrated the name of Uruj Reis was become from that moment; he being held and accounted by all the world as a most valiant and enterprising commander." His two brothers, Khizr, henceforth called Khyr ud Din, and Ishák, now came to join him, with many other Turks attracted by the fame of his exploits. He was soon at the head of a fleet of eight galleys armed with cannon and manned by desperadoes like himself; with these he carried on war against the Spaniards along the coast of Barbary by land and sea. In trying to drive them out of Bujeya, he lost one of his arms, taken off by a cannon-shot. While he was laid up with his wound at Tunis, the Genoese, under Andrea Doria, came down on the

Corsair settlement at Halk al Vad, sacked and destroyed it and captured half of the pirate vessels; the rest the Turks saved by carrying them up the channel to Tunis.

After this loss, the brothers established themselves again at Jijeli to the westward, where they fortified themselves and renewed their operations. The Moors of Algiers begged their help against the Spaniards, and Uruj Barbarossa went thither and blockaded the Spanish garrison in their fort on the island. He then murdered the Moorish King of Algiers, whom he had come to aid, and made himself master of the city. Another bold Turkish Corsair, Kara Hasan, had established himself at Shershel to the west of Algiers. Barbarossa treacherously murdered him also, and Kara Hasan's men came over to his side. But "the excessive insolence and abominable bestialities of the Turks" speedily alienated the Moors and Arabs, and soon in every town along the Barbary Coast there were two factions—the one desiring the triumph of the Turks, the other that of the Spaniards; but the zeal of the Moors for the true faith sufficed to turn the scale in favour of the former. Tilimsan was thus divided against itself, and was alternately a prey to Turk and Spaniard. Uruj Barbarossa had established himself there triumphantly, when a fresh Spanish armament arrived from Oran to surprise him, of ten thousand veteran soldiers under the Marquis de Comares. Uruj made a bolt by night for Algiers; but the Spaniards came up with the Turks as they were crossing the Rio Salado, and the Corsair chief was slain, "laying about him with his one arm like a lion to the last." "He resided in Barbary fourteen years," says Morgan, in his "History of Algiers," "during which the harms he did to the Christians are inexpressible."

Ishák had also fallen in the wars, and now Khyr ud Din was the only one of the four brothers left. He took his slain brothers' place in Algiers, and sent an embassy to the Ottoman Porte asking for the favour and protection of the Sultan.

Selim sent him a sword and horsetail banner, and appointed him Begler Beg of the new Province of Algiers; he also sent a force of two thousand Janissaries to his aid. With this reinforcement he subdued the whole country round. The Turks had arquebuses like the Spaniards, while the Moors at that time had not yet become possessed of fire-arms. The Moorish infantry are described by Knolles as consisting "for the most part of youths half naked, with long hair not unlike the Irish, using no other weapons than darts."

Khyr ud Din was as brave and more politic than his brother; he was a sagacious administrator as well as a bold conqueror, a skilful admiral as well as a valiant captain. All the Turkish Corsairs of the coast of Barbary looked to him as their leader, and placed themselves cheerfully under his orders. He had twenty galleys of his own, and as many more were at his command belonging to other famous Corsair captains: Torghúd the Turk; Sinán the Jew; Salih Reis, the Egyptian Arab; Aydin of Smyrna, nicknamed Drub-devil, Cachadiablo, Cacciadiavolo, and Chasse-diable, in the various tongues of his captives and victims. Most of the Corsair captains, like the Barbarossas themselves, were known by some convenient sobriquet in the lingua Franca which formed the medium of communication between them and their Christian slaves. Sinan was *il Giudeo*; Kara Kazi, the Black Priest, was *Caracoza*; Kurt oghli was *Curto galli*; and Torghud Reis had his name twisted into *Dragut*. And to this day, Point Dregate, at Malta, commemorates the scene of his "martyrdom." The brothers Barbarossa, Uruj and Khyr ud Din, were called in the dog-Latin which was then the common medium of communication in Europe, "*Horuccius*" and "*Hariadenus*."

The Corsairs now put to sea with whole fleets, disputing the command of the seas with the Spaniards and Venetians. They made two or three expeditions each summer to the coasts of Spain and Italy, returning with their galleys laden

with their human prey and with anything portable that they could pick up. Barbarossa by degrees reduced all the Spanish posts along the coast, except Bujeya, Oran, and Mazarquivir; and he also took the island of Algiers from the Spaniards and killed the brave commander, Don Martin de Vargas, to revenge the death of his brothers.

He employed thirty thousand Christian slaves continuously for two years in joining the island to the shore by a mole, so as to make a secure harbour for his galleys and their prizes. Several expeditions sent from Spain to dislodge him came to a disastrous end. His fame became so great that Sultan Sulimán sent for him to Constantinople to reorganize the Imperial Ottoman fleet, which was unable to keep the sea against the Genoese and the Venetians; and in 1534 Khyr ud Din led out a fleet of eighty-four galleys from the Golden Horn, with which he ravaged the coasts of Italy and sacked several towns. Then sailing to Tunis, he expelled his old patron, the Moorish King, and annexed the country to the Ottoman Empire.

The exiled monarch appealed to the Emperor Charles the Fifth for aid; and it was determined to seize the opportunity to deal a decisive blow at the power of the Corsairs. Charles collected a fleet of six hundred vessels under the command of the Genoese Admiral Doria, on which he embarked the flower of the Imperial armies under the most celebrated captains of Christendom: the famous Spanish infantry, the valiant Knights of St. John, the German veterans of the French wars. Khyr ud Din and his Corsair captains assembled all their forces in Tunis, determined to defend it to the last; but the odds were too unequal. The fortress of the Goletta was stormed by the Knights of Malta; the Corsair fleet, which was anchored under its guns, was captured; the terrified Moors deserted the losing side; the Christian slaves in the city rose; and Khyr ud Din and his Turks fled away in the night overland to Bona, where they had some galleys on which they embarked for Algiers. Charles gave up the city to the

brutality of his soldiers for three days; and the atrocities perpetrated in the sack of Tunis by the Christians even exceeded the ordinary horrors of war as practised in that age.

The loss of Tunis only seemed to make the Corsairs redouble their activity. Before Charles had returned from Barbary, Khyr ud Din had fallen with twenty-seven galleys upon Minorca, whence he carried off six thousand captives to Algiers. Their raids increased year by year until, five years later, Charles was leading another huge armament to attempt the destruction of Algiers, in the vain hope of putting a final stop to their depredations. Khyr ud Din had been made Kapitan Pasha, or Lord High Admiral of the Ottoman fleet, and was away fighting the Sultan's battles in the Adriatic; and he had left as his deputy in Algiers a renegade eunuch named Hasan Agha, whom he had carried off as a boy from the island of Corsica.

Hasan Agha had only a handful of Turks to defend the city against the overwhelming host of the enemy; but the expedition was undertaken too late in the year, and against the advice of the experienced Doria. The troops had hardly landed when the winter rains began; the camp was flooded, and the ammunition drowned; and before they could well attempt the walls, one of the most fearful tempests ever known burst upon them. The fleet was scattered and many of the vessels lost; and the discomfited Emperor was forced to crowd the wretched troops into what ships there remained and to fly the inhospitable shores, piously murmuring, "*Fiat Voluntas Tua.*"

The Christians attributed the storm to the incantations of an Arab witch; and the Mussulmans, with equal reason, referred it to the prayers of a Moorish saint. The Jews, of whom there were great numbers in Algiers, were especially jubilant over the discomfiture of the Spaniards, the cruel persecutors of their race. Charles the Fifth's unlucky expedition was the greatest and most costly, though by no means the last, failure of the Christian nations

of Europe to put a stop to the depredations of the Corsairs of Algiers.

Khyr ud Din Barbarossa never re-visited Algiers. Every year he led the Imperial Ottoman fleet on a cruise through the Mediterranean ; and, accompanied by most of the Corsair captains, carried on plundering expeditions on a gigantic scale at the head of a fleet of a hundred and fifty or two hundred galleys. In one of his cruises he swept up such a number of captives from the Adriatic coasts and Ionian islands belonging to Venice, that though many were thrown overboard every day, dead of overcrowding and suffocation, yet sixteen thousand of all ages and sexes remained to be landed at Constantinople, to be sold for the profit of their captors. The old Corsair built a splendid mosque and mausoleum for himself at Beshiktash, on the shores of the Bosphorus, where he was buried, dying peacefully in his bed after all his wars and perils. The Arabic chronogram *Mát Reis al Bahr* (the Chief of the Sea is dead) gives the date of his death, A.H. 953, equal to A.D. 1546.

After the death of Khyr ud Din, the Corsair Captain Salih Reis became Pasha of Algiers, and drove the Spaniards from Bujeya ; and the Sultan sent him a fleet of galleys with a battering train, and a force of one thousand Sipáhis and four thousand Janissaries to drive them also from Vahran (Oran) and Marsa al Kabir (Mazarquivir) ; but the Pasha died before he could undertake the expedition. Hasan, the son of Khyr ud Din Barbarossa by a Christian captive woman, was the next Pasha of Algiers. He besieged Mazarquivir in vain, and took a prominent part in the unsuccessful siege of Malta. But the most noted figure among the Corsairs was now Torghúd Reis, a native Turk of Asia Minor, whose father was a peasant cultivator. Young Torghúd entered the service of a maritime Beg, and accompanied his master to Egypt, learned the arts of gunnery and navigation, and was at last able to set up for himself as Captain (Reis) of a galley.

He became a famous rover and a favourite of Khyr ud Din's, who gave him the command of twelve galleys. He was once surprised when ashore in Sardinia and taken by the Genoese, and for three years he tugged at the oar in Doria's galleys; but when Khyr ud Din brought the Turkish fleet into the Gulf of Genoa, he procured the release of Toghúd by threats of vengeance for his prolonged detention; or, some say, by ransoming him for three thousand crowns. Toghúd was made Sanják Beg of the maritime province of Karli Eili (Acarnania) by the Sultan, and he commanded the right wing of the Ottoman fleet at the battle of Prevesa. After the fashion of the Barbarossas, he collected under his flag a number of famous Corsair captains, Gházi Mustafa, Uluj Ali, Sanjakdár Reis, Deli Ja'fár, Kara Kázi, and others. He at one time fell under the displeasure of the Sultan for plundering the Venetians, who had obtained peace from the Porte, and was ordered to Istambol to give an account of his conduct; but he was afraid to obey, and betook himself with his galleys to the coast of Morocco, whence he cruised against the Spaniards. After a time, however, he returned, and was received back into favour. He made himself master of the stronghold of Mahdiya on the coast of Tunis, and it became his base of operations against Christian commerce. But the valiant Knights of Saint John, the sworn foes of the Mussulman name and faith, had now settled in the barren island of Malta and in the city of Tripoli, made over to them by the Emperor Charles the Fifth after they had wandered homeless for eight years; and their proximity sorely interfered with the operations of the Corsairs of Mahdiya.

At length, in A.D. 1550, a combined force of Spaniards, Papal troops, and Genoese, under the command of old Andrea Doria, united with the Knights, laid siege to and took Mahdiya, and blew up the strong walls and towers which had surrounded it since the time it was the capital of the Fatimite Khalifs. Toghúd, after vainly endeavour-

ing to raise the siege of his stronghold, saw it reduced to a heap of ruins.

He took refuge in the neighbouring isle of Jerba, where he was blockaded by Doria. There was but one narrow outlet to the lake behind Jerba where Torghúd's fleet of pirate galleys lay, for the channel at the other end of the island was too shallow to be navigable by boats even of the lightest draught. Torghúd erected a battery on shore to keep Doria at a distance; then he set to work cutting channels through the shallows, and procured rollers on which to transport his vessels over the land; then, when all was ready, under cover of the night, he carried his whole fleet of twenty galleys over the shoals and sands into the open sea at the south side of the island, and escaped to the Levant.

Sultan Sulimán was very angry at the capture of Mahdiya, and complained to the Emperor of it as a breach of truce, while Charles replied very truly that the truce was perpetually broken by the Corsairs, and that the Imperial fleet had only gone to Africa to punish the pirates. Suliman determined to be at all events revenged on the cursed "Al Aspitar" (Hospitallers) and fitted out a powerful fleet under the command of Sinán Pasha (not el Giudeo, who had died commanding a Turkish fleet in the Red Sea, but another of the same name); a hundred and fifty galleys convoyed a battering train and ten thousand Turkish soldiers. Torghúd accompanied the fleet, the destination of which was kept secret. They descended first upon Malta, but the strength of the newly-raised fortifications and the spirited manner in which the Knights received them, damped their ardour; and after laying waste the open country, they sailed away to Tripoli, where a weak garrison and crumbling fortifications promised them better success. Mines brought down the ruinous walls into the ditch; the garrison was worn out with fatigue and fighting; and the Knights were driven to capitulate on terms, which were violated by Sinán. Tripoli again became a Moslem city,

after it had remained in the hands of the Christians for forty years ; and Torghúd Beg was made by Sultan Sulimán Pasha of Tarábulus, as the town was called by the Turks. He now became a greater pest than ever ; and every year his galleys appeared on the coasts of Apulia and Calabria.

The Christian Powers of the Mediterranean determined that it was necessary again to dislodge him from Tripoli ; and an armada of one hundred ships and galleys was contributed by Philip the Second of Spain, the Pope, the Genoese, and "the Religion" of Malta, to expel the common enemy from his new stronghold. The Duke of Medina Celi and the younger Doria commanded it ; and in the spring of 1560 they disembarked their troops on the island of Jerba, where they began to build a fortified post, intending to make the island the base of their operations against Tripoli. Torghúd, however, had sent off for aid to Sultan Sulimán, who despatched a strong fleet to his rescue under Piáli Pasha, the Croatian renegade. He and Torghúd came by surprise upon the Christian fleet while the troops were all on shore employed upon the fortifications. The Turks without hesitation made a desperate and headlong attack and carried everything before them. Fifty-six ships and galleys were the prizes of their valour ; and eighteen thousand Christians fell under their scimitars.

Piáli and Torghúd made a triumphant entry into the Golden Horn, towing the captured ships astern with their banners trailing in the water. The Grand Standard of the Holy Roman Empire was taken on this occasion ; but some Spaniards managed to steal it and smuggle it away from Constantinople.

Five years later all the Corsairs of Algiers and Tripoli were summoned to assist the grand Ottoman fleet and army in the reduction of the stronghold of "the crossed warriors of Malta ;" and here Torghúd Pasha met his death, by a splinter of rock thrown up by a cannon-shot striking him on the head while he was engaged in directing

the siege operations. He is said to have lain stunned and speechless for a week, when he was roused from his lethargy by the Turkish guns firing salvos to celebrate the fall of Fort St. Elmo; and on being told the cause, he piously thanked God and yielded up the ghost.

After his death Uluj Ali, Pasha of Algiers, became the most famous leader of the Corsairs. Mr. Lane-Poole calls him Ochiali, a Christian corruption of his Turkish name, which means Ali the Renegado; Cervantes calls him in *Don Quixote*, "Uchali, King of Argeir, a bold and fortunate Corsair," and Knolles dubs him "the old Arch-pyrat Vluzales." The Turks also called him Fortas, or Scabby, from his condition when he was taken by them—a boy herding swine in Calabrian pastures. He tugged at the oar for twenty years, a slave in an Algerine galley, and then apostatized to Islam to gain an opportunity for revenge on a Turk who had struck him without cause. His courage and skill raised him to the command of a galley; and he served with Khyr ud Din Barbarossa and Torghúd Pasha in most of their victories.

In 1568 he was appointed Begler Beg of Algiers in succession to Hasan the son of Barbarossa. In 1570, at the head of the Algerine fleet, he attacked four galleys of the Knights of Malta, and captured three of them, including their flag-ship. Sixty Knights and novices of the Order were killed or taken prisoners; but their Admiral, St. Clement, escaped to shore, and on his return to Malta was arraigned for cowardice, and strangled, and his dead body thrown into the sea. He could hardly have fared worse had he been a defeated Turkish admiral.

In the same year Sultan Selim the Drunken, who had succeeded his father the great Sulimán, picked a quarrel with the Venetians in order to obtain possession of the island of Cyprus, which it is said he coveted for the sake of its famous wine. Next summer the island was overrun by the Mussulman hosts, and the Barbary Corsairs were summoned to join the Imperial Ottoman fleet in the Levant

under Piáli Pasha. All the Christian Powers of the Mediterranean seaboard,—Spaniards, Genoese, Venetians, Tuscans, and Maltese,—now formed a maritime league, under the presidency of the Pope, to check the progress of the Turkish arms.

The brilliant bastard of Charles the Fifth, Don John of Austria, was nominated Generalissimo of the Combined Armada of three hundred ships and galleys. The Pope gave him a consecrated standard, and promised remission of sins and the crown of martyrdom to all who should fall in the New Crusade, a superfluous inducement for enhancing the valour of the Knights of Malta and the veterans of Castile. "The Christians do not believe," says Haji Khalifa, the Turkish historian, "that they who fall in battle enter Paradise. This doctrine is held by their learned men, and is also taught by the Pope: the infidel soldiers, however, fight till they die, caring little about a future state."

Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole devotes a chapter to the great naval battle of Lepanto, which Lord Beaconsfield styled "the greatest battle of modern times." The skilful Piáli was superseded by Sultan Selim because he had not given battle to the Confederate fleet, and was succeeded by the rash young favourite Ali Pasha, who encountered the Christian Armada in the Adriatic off Lepanto. The bold Corsair captain, Kara Kázi, pushed his galley in amidst the enemy's fleet at night, to spy out their numbers without being discovered by them, and returning in safety, reported to Ali Pasha that their strength did not exceed that of the Turks, though it was really greater by one-third. It is said that in his own eagerness to fight, he purposely underrated the force of the enemy; if so, he was justly recompensed for his deceit, for he himself perished that day in the wrack of the lost battle, in which Ali Pasha was himself killed and the Ottoman fleet all but destroyed. Uluj Ali with the Barbary galleys formed the left wing of the Turkish fleet on that fatal day; and his skill and seaman-

ship triumphed over the Maltese and Genoese who were opposed to him. The *Capitana* of Malta was carried by boarding, after a desperate struggle which left her decks encumbered by three hundred corpses; and the Grand Standard of the Order was hauled down by the Corsairs. But the victorious Spaniards and Venetians from the Christian centre and left now flocked to the succour of their right wing, and Uluj Ali had to cut his prizes adrift and trust for safety to the speed of his galleys. With the small remnant of that mighty fleet he escaped to Constantinople, where he told the dismal news to the Sultan, and, as a proof of his own valour, presented him with the Grand Standard of the Order of Malta. Sultan Selim nominated him Kapitan Pasha, and, to signalize his bravery, changed his name from Uluj to Kilij Ali, from Ali the Renegade to Ali of the Sword.

The Turks exerted themselves so strenuously to repair their losses that next year the new Kapitan Pasha put to sea with a larger fleet than the one lost at Lepanto; but their naval prestige was gone, and Kilij Ali did not venture to give battle again to the Confederate Fleet, which was still superior in numbers. But after the mutual jealousies of the Spaniards and the Venetians had dissolved the League, and their combined fleets no longer kept the seas, he recovered Tunis from the hands of the Spaniards. The fortress of the Goletta had been held by a Spanish garrison since Charles the Fifth's conquest in 1535; but the city and crown of Tunis had been alternately in the hands of the Moorish factions favoured respectively by Turks and Spaniards. Don John of Austria had last occupied it in 1573, re-establishing the Moorish puppet-king as a vassal of the Spanish Crown. The next year Kilij Ali appeared before Tunis with a fleet of thirty sailing ships, ten maonas or transports, and two hundred and fifty galleys, carrying a Turkish army and battering train. The Goletta was soon taken, the Spanish garrison enslaved, the city of Tunis occupied, and the Moorish dynasty of Beni Hafs, which

had ruled over the country for three centuries, finally extinguished. Tunis was proclaimed a Turkish Pashalik, and a strong force of Janissaries was left there as a garrison.

The final conquest of Tunis completed the Turkish occupation of Barbary. The regions of Africa between the frontiers of Egypt and those of Morocco were now divided into three Turkish Aiyálat, or provinces of the Ottoman empire: Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, each governed by a Begler Beg, or Pasha, sent from the Porte. Each Turkish province had its Provincial Divan, composed of the doctors of the law, the chief officers of the garrison, and the notables of the place, whom the Pasha was bound to consult on local matters; but in the African provinces there were no Turks except the Corsairs and the Janissaries in garrison; and the chiefs of these two bodies only formed the Divan. Successful Corsair captains were at first generally appointed Pashas, and we find that dignity at Algiers held after Uluj Ali's time by several other renegades in succession: Ramazán Sardo the Sardinian, Hasan Venedik the Venetian, Ja'far Májár (Magyar) the Hungarian, and Memi Arnáut the Albanian—who all continued the system of predatory war which their predecessors had waged indiscriminately against all Christian nations.

The Ottoman Sultan had made peace with the Spaniards and the Italian States; but the Turkish rovers of Barbary were not at all disposed to relinquish the practices on which their wealth and prosperity entirely depended. They continued to make descents upon the Christian coasts, and to make prize of any Christian ships which crossed the path of their cruisers. The European Powers naturally complained to the Porte, which promised them redress and satisfaction, and issued mandates to the Pashas of the Barbary Provinces to abstain from annoying countries at peace with the Ottoman Empire. The Turks in Barbary now found themselves in a dilemma; they must either lose their livelihood or disobey their monarch's commands, and they were not long in making their choice. They

addressed humble representations to the Sultan, begging him to recall his orders, and to take into consideration their position as outposts of the forces of Islam, and champions of the true faith ; and that to abstain from making war on infidels was to them equivalent to renouncing their religion. When the Sultan reiterated his commands, they represented that the ships captured had first fired upon them, and so provoked them to retaliate ; and this was so far true, that the Corsairs purposely approached merchant vessels, which, naturally suspecting their designs, fired upon them. The Turks then declared the peace broken, and proceeded to capture the ship and carry her into port as a lawful prize. English, French, and Dutch, as well as other Christian nations, all besieged the "Grand Signior's" court with complaints, while the Corsairs began to take measures for putting themselves and their trade out of the reach of his power. The Algerine Turks now elected their own Pasha, submitting their choice to confirmation by the Porte. As early as 1584, only ten years after Tunis had become a Turkish Pashalik, the Janissaries there elected a private soldier of their own body as their "Dái" (maternal uncle), a title believed to be derived from a polyandrous state of society among their Turanian ancestors in pre-Islamitic times. This "uncle" was invested with the supreme executive power. Kara (black) Osmán was the first Turkish Dái of Tunis ; and on his death another private Janissary, Yusuf Dái, succeeded him. Meanwhile the European Powers, finding that nothing was to be got from the Corsairs' Suzerain beyond the assurance "that their ships come not in danger of breach of league if they shoot at the galleys of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli," betook themselves direct to the Pashas, Dáis, and Divans of the three Corsair cities, who graciously consented to spare their subjects and their merchantmen for a sufficient consideration ; and thus began the system of black-mail paid to the Barbary Corsairs by all the maritime powers of Europe.

The Corsairs' contention was, that, as Mussulmans, it their right, or rather their solemn duty, to make war on all infidels, unless they consented to acknowledge the supremacy of Islam by paying tribute; and this position they logically and obstinately maintained for three centuries; and, in the case of the Algerines at least, they only abandoned their principles with their political existence.

In Algiers there was at first considerable rivalry between the two bodies of Janissaries and Levends (marines) as the Corsairs were called; and on one occasion, when the former had elected a Pasha of their own and refused to receive the nominee sent by the Porte, the latter admitted him into the town and assisted him to establish his authority. The Janissaries were retained for the service of the State, and for duties on land, and were not allowed to embark on privateers; whereby they were debarred from a share in the profits of piracy, the chief source of revenue to the Turks in Algiers. In A.D. 1588 we find them raising an agitation on this account, while the Levends on the other hand claimed, that if the Janissaries were permitted to turn Corsair, they, on their part, should be admitted to the pay and privileges of Janissaries; and finally this was actually done. The whole of the Turks and renegades in Algiers were enrolled as Janissaries and received into regular pay. They now all formed one body of soldiery, and took their turn of duty in the camps and fortresses.

The Divan, or State Council, was presided over by the Agha or General of the Janissaries. It was composed of thirty Yáyá* báshis, or colonels, of whom the senior ranked as Kiáyá,* or lieutenant-general; and of all the Buluk báshis (captains), and Odá báshis (lieutenants) of the soldiery present in Algiers; four or five hundred persons in all. The Divan Effendisi, or Secretary to the

* Yáyá is the Turkish corruption of the Persian word *piyáda*, a foot soldier; and Kiáyá similarly is for *ketkhuda*. There appear some discrepancies between the military titles and ranks used among the Turks in Algiers and Tunis; and they also differ from those used at Constantinople.

Council, kept a record of the proceedings. The Pasha was allowed to be present, and was sometimes sent for; his advice was often asked, but he was not allowed by right to have a voice in the decision of questions.

The Agha and the thirty Yáyá bashis were seated according to their rank in a corridor looking upon a courtyard, in which the captains and other officers stood in ranks with their thumbs in their girdles, and they thus stood sometimes for hours while the debates were going on. The regulation about thumbs in girdles was designed to prevent brawling and striking; and no arms were allowed to be brought into the Divan. The Agha made statements on the business in hand, and put questions to the vote. Every one who chose had the liberty of speaking, and often many spoke together at one time. The Agha gave the decision according to the voice of the majority; there was no method of recording votes separately. The Divan met once a week, or oftener if there was any particular business in hand. The proceedings were all in Turkish, but there were interpreters present to translate for the European Consuls, or others who might have business to transact with the State.

On extraordinary occasions, such as the declaration of war or conclusion of peace with one of the Great Powers of Europe, the whole body of the Turkish soldiery in Algiers was assembled to decide the question.

The Divan in Tunis was much smaller than that of Algiers. It consisted, according to the account given by Père Dan in his "*Histoire de Barbarie*," of the Janissary Agha as President, and below him the Kiaya, twelve Oda bashis and twenty-four Buluk bashis; two Kátibs, or scribes, and six Cháushes, or sergeants.

In Tripoli a Divan was established on the model of that of Algiers in the year 1672; but it did not last long, as Karamanli Ali Pasha established himself as absolute ruler of the province in A.D. 1714, and founded an hereditary dynasty which lasted till 1835.

These Barbaresque Regencies are curious, as showing Turkish and Mussulman ideas of a popular form of government. They have been called military republics; it would be perhaps more correct to call them military oligarchies, for the governing body was composed entirely of the Turks and of the renegades whom they admitted into their ranks. All Moors and Arabs were rigidly excluded from a share in the administration. It is instructive to note that in two out of the three States the form of government soon reverted to the ordinary type of Oriental despotism. And in Algiers, where the form of a State Council still survived, the institution had become practically effete in the present century, and the government had virtually become vested absolutely in the Dái.

In Tripoli the Pasha founded a line of hereditary rulers. In Tunis Husain Bin Ali, the son of a Greek renegade, elected as Dái by the soldiery about the same time, managed to make the succession hereditary in his own family under the title of Bey; and eleven Beys succeeded each other in the Regency from 1710 up to our own time.

The Algerines did not elect a Dái until A.D. 1671, and a Pasha was nominated by the Porte as late as 1710, after which time the Sultan waived a privilege which only exposed his representative to contempt and ridicule; and the Dái assumed the title of Pasha. On one occasion the Pasha appointed by the Sultan, on his arrival at Algiers, found the port blockaded by French cruisers, who made him a prisoner, and carried him off to France as a hostage for the good behaviour of the Algerines, who troubled themselves very little as to what became of him.

(To be continued.)

FRANK H. TYRRELL.

INTER-RELIGIONARY AMITY :

OR,

IS IT POSSIBLE TO BE FRIENDLY AND AFFECTIONATE
TO ALIENS IN RELIGION?

AT present many questions affecting the vital interests of the Indian Mussulmans are decided by a reference to the oracular dictum that it is unlawful to be on friendly and affectionate terms with persons who profess any religion but our own. This arbitrary rule is at the root of the current belief as to the unlawfulness of many things which the convenient laws of our faith recognise as permissible. For instance, there is no canon forbidding us to eat with aliens, but such a catastrophe has been rendered practically impossible by the arbitrary dictates of our venerable religious leaders. Some of these even go so far as to say that it is not permissible to hold communion, of any kind whatever, with persons whom they call *Kafirs*. The present condition of our learned men is really sad. They have no acquaintance with what is going on in the world, while the modes of life obtaining in other countries are a sealed book to them. They, indeed, do not know what the expediency of the moment demands. They believe, in all good faith, that the establishment of such amicable relations with those who are not our co-religionists will naturally lead to the disruption of the religious beliefs of the common people, who are but imperfectly acquainted with the strong principles of our religion. This is the reason why they do not allow their co-religionists to indulge in religious discussion. They themselves refrain from entering upon this course also, because they are

convinced that to do what is not borne out by the glorious examples of their forefathers is sure to end in disaster. Such of our learned men, moreover, as are, by their self-reliance and strength of character, able to hold their own against any odds, also discourage such discussions because they think that their example would lead the common people to imitate them. But such a belief, it is needless to point out, is wholly unjustifiable, and the results to which it has given birth are still more so. The religious beliefs of the common people are as a rule deep-rooted because they have the formula "I believe without knowing" for their basis; while on the contrary the learned scholars who discourse glibly on "Sadra" and "Hedaya" have sometimes to combat against ugly doubts and glaring inconsistencies. Indeed, the mental horizon of illiterate men is generally so limited, that they cannot even dream of doubting the truth of the religion in which they have been born. This then being a necessary condition of their ways of thought, it is not unreasonable to believe that they will come unscathed through the ordeal of mixing with persons professing other religions. For this reason, the veil of secrecy, with which it is sought to shroud the generous principles of our religion, in the supposed interests of the common people, and which is thought to be a phylacteric against the diseases which have but their origin in the frenzied workings of a too-heated brain, is highly reprehensible!—nay, it almost amounts to a sin and an impudent innovation in our religion.

The world is not without a few learned and pious souls who decline to avail themselves of the indulgence in question because they think that such a course would strike at the root of their influence with the rich, they being the men who are the secret springs of their boasted indifference to the world and specious peace of mind. But we ought to be thankful that this last class is now rated at its proper worth. The higher classes now look

down upon them with contempt, while our humorists technically call them Tahsildars (Revenue Collectors), for they make periodical tours to assess their revenue demands. In the present article I will leave the Tahsildars alone, and will confine my attention to persons of the first class.

There are two kinds of sympathy, one being the sympathy proceeding from religion, that is to say, that which Mahomedans feel for one another on account of their community of religion. A learned and pious Mussulman, on whose venerable face we have never set eyes, is held in esteem by us on account of this religious affinity; and it is this zeal which makes such a strong claim upon our heart. For this reason this kind of affection on our side must be limited to Mahomedans only, such being the case with people of other religions also. The fact is, that a person sincerely believing one religion cannot feel in religious sympathy with one following another.

The other kind of sympathy is that fellow-feeling that God created along with the creation of the world for the proper development and progress of human society. This feeling is of such an essential character that the proper organization of the world for the most part depends upon it. The affection which parents feel for their children, a brother for a brother, the wife for her husband, in short that which we feel for our neighbours, fellow-citizens, fellow-countrymen, our benefactors and helpers—this affection can be traced to the second kind of sympathy. It is, however, true that religious sympathy also includes social attachment. If, on the contrary, we were to maintain that parents love their children only because they know that when they grow up, they will follow the paternal religion, the question arises, How is it then that the same passions are found to rule the brute creation also? This clearly goes to prove that social affection is of a different order altogether, and that

these two kinds of sympathy are not opposed and antagonistic to each other. Though religious zeal, no doubt, gives birth to religious sympathy, it is by no means fatal to social attachment. Nor is that sincere and deep-rooted feeling calculated to strike at the root of the affection we may feel for those who are, or those who are not, outside the pale of our own religion.

There may be but very few persons who will agree in thinking that religious zeal is not inconsistent with friendship for non-Mahomedans. At present the general conviction appears to be, that a mind imbued with the enthusiasm of faith can find no place for the parasitic growth of social affection. It is thought that strong religious convictions and social attachment towards aliens in religion are wholly antagonistic to each other, and that the existence of the one necessarily leads to the disappearance of the other. But so far as I can think, and so far as my humble experience goes, I have been unable to discover any argument, worth the name, that could support this contention. The zeal which, according to the present generation of the Mahomedans of India, is calculated to prove fatal to our friendship with our non-Mahomedan neighbours, cannot be traced to the pure dictates of faith, but to that mass of prejudice and ignorance which is sometimes mistaken for the pure unalloyed metal. For a long time I myself was under a like misapprehension; but when I deeply pondered over the beneficent laws of God, these delusions disappeared like mist, and I at last found that they had, after all, a very clearly defined error for their basis, which it will be my purpose to elucidate in the following pages.

To use a colloquial phrase, our non-Mahomedan neighbours are not endowed with horns, that a salutary dread of being pierced through should make us avoid them. Should a non-Mahomedan, however, openly abuse the tenets or the leaders of our faith, it would be but natural for us to resent such conduct and withdraw any social

affection that we have felt for him. But at the same time the resentment that we should experience in that case would be purely the result of his discourtesy to us and not because of the religion he professes. Should a non-Mahomedan be really actuated by enmity and hatred towards us, we could hardly entertain any feeling of sincere attachment for him; and if we went further and extended the same treatment to him which we had received at his hands, no pleader's pen or advocate's tongue could bring any blame home to us. On the contrary, our straightforward attitude, corresponding to the feelings we entertained for him, would win us a word of praise from persons of a magnanimous turn of mind. Says the Koran: "And should they be patient and keep themselves aloof, it would be really an act of great courage on their part."

But in case none of the circumstances detailed above should exist, and if no possible blame can be attached to the non-Mahomedan, the only reason for being on any but friendly terms with him must be the fact of his looking down upon our true faith as false and having a preference for a religion which we regard as little better than Atheism. But the dictates of reason and the voice of conscience alike suggest that this is no sufficient excuse for making him the target of our hatred and contempt. If the other party is inclined to look down upon our belief, we also happen to entertain no better feelings towards his. If we think it cruel on his part to hold the principles of our true faith so light, he can also plead the same defence. In short, such a thing only amounts to a difference of opinion, and does not afford any reason for the display of the lower part of our nature.

Supposing that a certain town is reputed to enjoy a very salubrious and healthy climate, but some obstinate person wrongly believes the contrary; or again, take the case of a patient who does not use a medicine particu-

larly suited to his case because he thinks it dangerous,—such a display of ignorance on his part might excite our pity, but ought not to arouse our hatred and enmity. The idea that a certain ignorant person believes the salubrious climate of that town to be unhealthy, or that a wrongheaded patient does not feel inclined to use so beneficial a medicine, is conduct exactly of the same character as that of a non-Mahomedan who fails to subscribe to the principles of our true faith. Therefore, while the first two considerations cannot lead us to a state of mind which may border upon active hostility, why should the fact of a non-Mahomedan not seeing his way to adopt our religion go to make him the object of our enmity?

If this peculiar state of mind reflected the true light of faith, or if it were part and parcel of religious zeal, properly so called, the Prophet would have had a better title to enjoy the pleasure of indulging in such blessed reveries. But it is written in Holy Koran: "O Mahomed! if the indifference of the heathen be distasteful to you, you should, if possible, dig a tunnel in the earth or raise a ladder to the skies for bringing thence some convincing proof for them. Had God willed, He would have brought them all to the right path: therefore, you should not make yourself ridiculous."

Besides this peculiar state of mind, there is another circumstance also to which this hatred may be traced. Many Mahomedans are apparently of opinion that God has forbidden them to cultivate friendly relations with aliens in religion. The Holy Koran says: "Don't be friendly with any but Mahomedans;" or "Don't make friends of Jews and Christians;" or "Don't make friends of mine and your enemies." They appeal to these and similar texts, and draw the inference that it is not permissible to be friendly with aliens, whether they be Christians, Jews, or infidels. The fact is, that this ill-founded dogma has grown into favour with many Mahomedans because of the colouring which our learned

men have given to it, and it is now extremely difficult to give expression to the unvarnished truth.

If the Mahomedans for a moment lay aside their ill-begotten wealth of prejudice and make the dictates of justice and the voice of reason their guide, they will find in no time that if such an idea correctly represents the true drift of their faith, the religion of Islam is surely the greatest misfortune which they can encounter. What trust and confidence can men of other creeds,—with whom they may come in contact in the course of business, or subject to whose rule they may happen to be,—place, in that case, in the sons of Islam? What possible motive can they have to hold out to them a helping hand in time of need? In order to meet this difficulty, our learned men have devised a loop-hole by giving out that it is lawful to hold friendly communion with other creeds under the authoritative dictates of necessity. But I beg leave to point out that had this valuable advice been preserved by oral tradition, like the cherished secrets of Freemasonry and Sufism, it might have been of some use. When, however, this dishonest dictum is gravely discussed in books and pamphlets and its origin dubiously traced to the Koran, which says, "Keep aloof from them as much as your personal safety demands," how is it possible to keep the object secret? Indeed the poet, says "How can that secret remain a secret which forms the general topic of conversation at social gatherings?"

We ought to remember that alien nations are neither such fools nor so deeply immersed in lethargy, as to be easily taken in by such claptrap. They are not so blind as to overlook our hollow outbursts of good feelings and our selfish show of cringing flattery, when we have any purposes of our own to serve. Nor can they fail to rate our mean double-dealing at its proper worth. Such a proceeding on our part would only serve to drag us down to still lower depths of ignominy and wickedness in their

estimation. We ought to bear clearly in mind that until our co-religionists get rid of their prejudices and try to meet non-Mahomedans on the common platform of cordiality and good-fellowship, they can never hope to enlist their helping hands and loving hearts in their cause.

I have now to refer to the helpless condition of our co-religionists all over the world and the extent to which they stand in need of extraneous aid and assistance. I say, that when we believe that God was from the very first cognisant of the wretched condition to which His beloved Mahomedans have been, or to which they may in future time be, reduced, when we are convinced that no other messenger of God can now rise up to advocate reform or propound any new religion, and when we think that our laws, such as they have been, properly interpreted, are now in all respects perfect and complete—in such a case, I say that our simple confession of faith will land us in the absurdity of acknowledging the truth of the revolting proposition, that God, in spite of His boasted majesty and clear vision, was not prescient enough to devise such comprehensive laws for His beloved Mahomedans as would be flexible enough to suit the varying exigencies and requirements of all times. Should we be reluctant to indulge in such a belief, we shall have to confess to ourselves that God deluded us into a faith, the laws of which must become, in the natural course of things, the means of our ruin and destruction, and result in making us objects of the hatred and contempt of the nations.

But instead, we ought to be thankful that neither is our God such a fool nor are the enlightened laws of Mahomed such an absurdity. The poet says :—

“All our difficulties are due to the unfortunate unwieldiness of our own bodies; otherwise Thy robes of honour do not fall short of the size of any mortal.”

Our God, who has sent His wise and beneficent laws through His true Prophet for our guidance, is supremely wise, omniscient, and omnipotent. The laws which the

supreme Legislator has devised for us are as easy of execution as they are comprehensive in extent. They are so very flexible that they suit the temperament of a fiery youth in the same way as they do the limited desires of a crippled old man. As regards comprehensiveness, our laws are broader than those of any other religion, the beneficent and easy-going doctrines naturally affording facilities to a devout son of Islam to suit himself to the ever-receding grooves of change. The doctrines of Islam have no tendency to foster enmity and hatred against the followers of any other religion—a principle which is entirely contrary to the best instincts of human nature. The oft-quoted verses of the Holy Koran simply mean that it is not permissible for Mahomedans to cultivate friendly relations with any followers of anti-Mahomedan religions, who, carrying on religious wars against them, have expelled them from their dearly-loved homes. But at the same time such relations can be safely established as are necessary for the ordinary course of business. This is such a simple doctrine of human morality that it will meet with a ready acceptance at all hands. When two hostile armies are fighting together, it can never be permissible for a person belonging to the one camp to carry on friendly intercourse with those belonging to the other, or to supply secret information and thus become the source at once of their own weakness and of strength to their opponents. Therefore, it appears that wherever Mahomedans have been prohibited to cultivate friendly relations with them, some secret motive of this character is at its root. But this prohibition does not extend to the cultivation of those social relations which are among the graces of human existence.

God says in the Holy Koran: "God does not forbid you to extend kind and just treatment to those who did not fight with you on religious grounds, and who did not expel you from your homes, for verily God loves the just. But what He orders is, that you should not be

friendly to those who fought with you for faith, and expelled you or helped others in expelling you from your homes, for truly such people as will be friendly to them are oppressors and tyrants." This verse is a standing commentary on all the mandates prohibiting or approving of the maintenance of friendly relations with the non-Islamic world.

The Prophet of God himself did not hesitate to accept presents and invitations from aliens, which is a sure indication of the sort of feeling he entertained for them. On the other hand, God has permitted us to be kind and affectionate to those with whom we are not in an avowed state of religious warfare. Furthermore, it is obligatory upon us to be obedient to our Rulers wherever we may happen to be the ruled, and to be kind and indulgent to the ruled wherever we may be the Rulers. Indeed, we must look after their wine in the same manner as we take care of our own vinegar, and be as careful of their lambs as we are of our own goats. We are also directed to remain faithful to our engagements. All these things, therefore, taken together, are clearly calculated to strengthen the growth of mutual feelings of friendship and regard in our social relations.

God has Himself informed us that the Christians are more deserving of our friendship than others, as He says, "And certainly you will find those people more directly friendly to the Mahomedans who call themselves Christians and for this reason, that they have learned men and monks among them and are not proud."

There are some kinds of friendship in which one party feels disposed to be friendly, while the other grows more and more distant and reserved. But God has, as we have seen, pointed out, in no unmistakable terms, a sufficient reason for Christians being kindly-disposed towards us; so that no one may be gratuitously led away to speculate as to the nature of our friendship towards them. He says that they will be well disposed to you because they

have learned men and monks among them, and that their congenial manners are not tinged with pride; in other words, their friendship towards us will be the direct outcome of their superior civilization. When it is the universal experience that one civilized being feels a certain esteem and regard for another, can it be conceived that Mahomedans alone should become such monsters of ingratitude as to repel with disdain the friendly approaches of a people who are spoken of as our friends by God Himself? Can the sons of Islam ever forget the unselfish devotion of the Christians of France and England to the interests of the secular Head of their religion, and to the maintenance of their world-wide prestige in the retention of Mecca and Medina under the benign shade of Mahomedan banners during the Crimean War? It was in this war that those chivalrous Christians (may God recompense them for their exertions in our behalf!) fought with us shoulder to shoulder against their own co-religionists, the aggressive Russians, and put the enemies of Islam to rout. It was their mighty arms that shielded our holy shrines—the venerated names of which are sufficient to throw our learned men into ecstasies—from the unholy hands of Russian tyrants. But is this not attributable to the fact that the Sultan of Turkey treated his allies with sincerity and gratitude? On the contrary, the Bokharan Khanate came to grief because the short-sighted policy of our learned leaders was too heedlessly followed. Is it not, therefore, incumbent on the Mahomedans to shed their loyal blood for every drop of Christian sweat, should a crisis unfortunately arise when our brave supporters may be involved—may God avert it!—in distress?

Now I will proceed to ask our learned leaders in Religion, whether it is impossible for us to meet an alien nation, which has given such undying proof of its good faith, on the common platform of amity and good-will. But alas! a class who do not know what aid England

and France have given, who are ignorant as to whether Crimea is the name of some extinct mammal, or is a word of unknown foreign origin, and who indeed cannot realize the threatening attitude of Russia towards the holy temples of Mecca and the sacred shrine of Medina,—these cannot be expected to give a satisfactory reply to this simple question. Such things cannot really be learnt from Sadra and Shams-Bazgha !

God has permitted us to marry among people who follow the Book (Jews and Christians), and it would be natural to ask whether the children born of such marriages should feel no love and affection for their foreign mothers. But more than this, would it not be incumbent upon us to show the same love, regard, and kindness to our alien wives as we do to our Mahomedan helpmates? and would they not be entitled to enjoy the same rights and privileges which our laws have given as a charter to our own women? There can be but one answer to these questions, which must be decidedly in the affirmative. Again, is it conceivable that when God has permitted us to enter into relations in which an exhibition of sincere love is acceptable to Him and when its omission constitutes a sin, and when He has also pointed out the people who are to be our friends, is it conceivable, I say, that He should go on in the same breath to exhort us to nurse hatred and enmity to these very people? What are we to think of such a fickle, unprincipled deity? This is not the action of a Godhead but the cosmogony of the Greeks, or rather a mere child's play. This is surely a very vile charge, and I feel inclined to subscribe to the idea of the poet who says :—

If Islam is really such as our learned preachers would have it,
Deplorable it will be if this day is followed by the morrow.

Mahomedans should not lose sight of the fact that the Holy Koran corroborates all other inspired books, and that it also embraces the moral precepts that form a part of the New Testament. They should remember also that

one of the great purposes for which our Prophet (peace be with him!) was sent into this world, was to accomplish the perfection of human morality, and that we are the followers of an Apostle who is, in the words of God: "Certainly, O Mahomed, thou art supremely moral," and whose title is a glory to both this and the next world. They should bear in mind that our religion is the fountain-head of all virtues and the perfecter of all our ideas of human morality. Therefore, it behoves us all to give up the obsolete ideas on this subject in the past, and in future try to act up to the authentic mandates of God and His true Prophet. The perfection of our imperfect nature lies in this, that we should treat with universal love and charity all our fellow-beings, whether they be Mahomedans or non-Mahomedans, that we should draw upon the perennial streams of amity and love which form a part of our human nature which we have hitherto neglected to cultivate, and that we should utilize to the fullest extent the magnetic power which our true faith has generated in us to win over foreigners. Mahomedans should now direct their united strength to the amendment of that destructive policy which has divided the broad circle of our attractive faith into two unequal parts. The lesser of these segments has been set apart for our worldly existence, whether we may be dying or living. But when that barrier has been passed and we are released from this close confinement, the broad expanse of our catholic faith, without the least reservation, will be opened up for our enjoyment and then we will be able to show our gratitude to the Almighty for His many gifts.

MUSHTAK HUSSAIN.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN INDIA AND THE EAST.

WE all know what our English language is, and yet it may not be useless to say a few words about it. It is the main tie which binds together a great part of the population of the world, of many races and religions, but of which the English element is the original and main constituent.

We were accustomed to use the phrase, "the Anglo-Saxon race," to express the community, and some do still. The English did not trouble themselves about it; the Lowlanders, who have so much Anglo-Saxon blood in them, did not take to it; the Highlanders would not; the Norsemen in Orkney and Shetland did not, any more than the Ulstermen; the Welsh and the Irish refused it. There was no better fortune in the United States, in Canada, or in South Africa.

Some years ago the powerful organization of the North American Union of St. George's Societies of the United States and of Canada, which has done so much for keeping up the feeling of kindred on that Continent, named me Corresponding Secretary here. A delegation of the Union helped me in forming the Society of St. George, which has done some work, particularly by correspondence.*

The difficulty of "Anglo-Saxon race" stood in our way, and I co-operated with the Hon. J. Russell Lowell in propagating the term "English-speaking populations." Who invented the term, I do not remember. I did not; and I cannot recall that Mr. Lowell did. It was not very

* The Hon. Sec. is Mr. H. W. Christmas, Consul-General of Servia, 42A, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

long before it was taken up by statesmen and writers on both sides of the Atlantic, and has been found so apt that it has passed into the language without question. A statesman who uses it accepts it as a recognised phrase well understood.

The next stage was, to give form to this loosely sketched organism; and I calculated from the United States census of 1880 and ours of 1881 that we could claim one hundred millions of English-speaking people; and this phrase was put in circulation by me, and has been accepted.

It will be necessary by the end of the year to provide new figures, as the census of the United States for 1890 is proceeding, and it is not necessary to wait for ours of 1891, as we are now in the minority. So far as I can see, the number will be carried to 120,000,000 of people using our language, and many of whom have the same institutions, religion, and system of laws. The total of the United States census of 1890 is 65,000,000, exclusive of Canada and the English West Indies, giving above 70 millions on that continent. As Mr. Lowell has said, the English-speaking populations constitute the great organization for promoting the culture and advancement of mankind, for extending civilization, morality, and freedom. Besides the English-speaking populations themselves, those they govern in India and elsewhere make up about three hundred and fifty or four hundred millions, or above a third, and perhaps nearly half, the people of the world under their influence.

So far as language is concerned, it is evident that we are beyond competition by European languages—Russian, German, or High Dutch, French, and Spanish. If the figures can be obtained, the probable result is, that the English tongue is more spoken than the Mandarin, or any one of the dialects of China, which are practically separate languages.

We are, therefore, in possession of a great instrument of civilization, not only for our own benefit, but also for that of

the populations placed under our government, tutelage, or influence. English has done no harm to the Republic of Liberia, founded under the patronage of the United States for their liberated slaves. The Hawaiian kingdom is also profiting by the same influence, although the native vernacular is maintained. Samoa was profiting in a similar way when the sudden apparition of the Germans interfered. At Tahiti and elsewhere French invasion has been allowed to drive out English and to supersede English by French. If it were to be allowed that French or German literature were equivalent to English, the argument would be of no weight, for it is the vernacular and the institutions thereby propagated that are the effective agents. The French have not yet attained stable institutions of government, and, with all due respect for the Prussian policeman, it cannot be said that constitutional and perpetual liberty are by his aid as yet fully developed.

By the labour of the English our language had become established at points in West Africa, and was doing useful work at Sierra Leone, Lagos, and other places. On the discovery by our people of the Congo and other regions, and the establishment of our merchants and mechanics, there was a fair prospect of Africa obtaining the great advantages of English culture. It may be useful to remember that under some magical incantation the Germans, who had had no more to do with Africa than had the Peruvians, Mexicans, or Cherokee Indians, in an extraordinary manner appeared, and, without the knowledge of the people of England, were mysteriously endowed by some of our authorities with the means to carry out a small experiment in their new trade of colonization, which we do not grudge of itself in a vast empire of six hundred thousand square miles.

This has allowed them to interfere with English trade on the Eastern coast, and a very unpleasant crisis has arisen. It is well known to many of our readers, and particularly to those in the Western Presidency, and is a

matter of pride to them, that the great trade of Bombay to the Gulfs and East Africa was the work of the old and honoured Company—*Compani Bahadur*! It was the Bombay Marine, and afterwards the Indian Navy, which cleared out the nests of Arab pirates in the Indian Ocean and its seas and opened a career for the successful exertions of the merchants, English and native.

It may well be that this is little known at home, or even by the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office; but we have been squeezed out of East Africa by the "sphere of German influence," which has become the creature of the German *Frankenstein*, who has been performing feats of necromancy in Africa. A very strange solution of the difficulty seems to have been reached, and we are promised peace. We happen to have the small island of Heligoland, or the Holy Island, sacred to us as part of the inheritance of our fathers before they left Anglen or England, there to found our kingdoms in Britain. The island is inhabited by our nearest kinsmen, Frisians, speaking the language which is most closely allied to English, and which is acknowledged to be a language distinct from the High Dutch. Upon this island the German or Prussian Emperor has no valid claim, for he does not inherit the claims of the Holy Roman empire. It has been in the hands of our Norse brethren, the Danes. What the Kaiser can put forward is his invasion of the rights of the Duchy of Schleswig, a most questionable transaction, in which we have the guilt of not interfering in behalf of a weak State.

In allowing Heligoland to be properly a matter of barter to foreigners, at least we expect to have the equivalent that is promised to us. The equivalent offered to us by the German Emperor is the protectorate we have in so many years created over Zanzibar. The protectorate is not even the whole protectorate, as a large portion is to be retained by the Emperor. Then comes the question whether he can deliver or we take possession under his agreement, as there is a treaty by which the English,

Germans, and French recognise the independence of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and it is open to question whether the French will concur unless they are pressed as to the invasion of our rights in Madagascar.

The political bearings of these matters are not of direct importance, and need not be pursued, and are only referred to for illustration of our main theme. What the energy of Englishmen in England and India has provided for a field of mutual advantage for ourselves and our people and for the natives, is effectually alienated, not merely by transfer to a foreign flag, but by the extirpation of our language and institutions, and their supersession by inadequate and incongruous substitutes.

This illustrates to some extent how we administer the sacred trusts which Providence has confided to us. The case is much the same in India and the East. Here we may halt to consider what others are doing while we are supine. Englishmen are so satisfied with the value of their language that they do not make it a boast nor take any measures for its diffusion. Their born brothers, the Turks, can furnish us with some information as to the results of such a course. In these matters, Turks and English are much the same, indolent and procrastinating, and, at the same time, of great tenacity when they do follow up any policy. It happened to me to hear one of the Arab sayings about the Turks, for the clever Arabs and Greeks look upon the Turks as their inferiors in smartness, just as the Scotch and Irish do with the English, treating them as pockpuddings and beefwitted. The Arabs say, that if a Turk set out to hunt a hare with a waggon, he would follow it up till he had caught it. This was not said in derision, but as expressive of the tenacity of the Turk, that if, instead of setting a leash of greyhounds after a hare, he followed him in a bullock-cart, he would never desist till he had run him down.

The Turkish Government, like the English, allows sedition to be openly talked until it reaches mutiny or civil war,

and it leaves the many nationalities chiefly to their own languages and devices. The result is, in the Balkan provinces there are few Turks by blood and none by language. Mussulmans speak Bosniac, Servian, Bulgarian, Greek; and in these latter days successful revolt or treachery has deprived the Turks of much of the sovereignty. In the Arabian countries all is Arabic. In Asia Minor, till lately, Turkish was the common language, and the Greeks spoke it, and even wrote it in the Greek character. Of late an Hellenic and Armenian propaganda is introducing those languages and superseding Turkish. In Caucasia Turkish is still a great language, competing with Russian and Armenian. In Turkestan it remains for the day supreme.

On the Turkish Government ceasing to reign, all vestiges of its rule disappear. The mosques fall into disrepair or are pulled down, and usually the castle and the government house, *konak*, or palace, also. The few Turkish-speaking officials, being without vocation, depart, and the Turkish language ceases to exist in writing or in speech. That would probably represent the condition of an Indian district from which we retired. Nothing would remain as a monument of English rule. If, however, in the Balkans the Turks cease to rule, some still remember them. Statesmen confess that the fact that Servia and Bulgaria are able to take a constitutional shape, and make a creditable commencement of their new life, is due to the Turks, who allowed them and taught them so large a measure of local self-government. Perhaps this might be our memory in India! In Hungary the Magyars have forgotten all ancient hostilities, and are now greatly attached to their former conquerors, the famous rulers of many and mixed races and populations.

The present misfortunes of Turkey are greatly due to the neglect of their own national language. As we favoured a "classical" language in our public schools before our own vernacular, so till lately a classical language, Arabic, occupied their schools, and kept Turkish out. It was Ali and

Fuad Pashas who, among their great labours to restore nationality, provided for the promotion of Turkish in the schools.

What others do, we pretty well know! Russia, having abandoned under the dominant influence of panslavism the maintenance of the local languages and institutions, is now Russifying everything, even in defiance of chartered rights, of the Kingdom of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Finland, and the Baltic duchies. In Caucasia the new domination is extending, and the Armenians, who had allowed themselves to countenance the Russian schemes to alienate them from Turkey, now bitterly feel their shortsightedness and folly. Instead of remaining an independent nationality as under the Turks, they are required, in the schools they built and maintain, to suppress their national teaching and to adopt Russian. Some nationalities in Russia are not allowed to use their own languages at all.

In the sham international State of the Congo, of which France has acquired a right of pre-emption, the English language and law are suppressed, and the French language and the French law and administration are introduced. The railways, planned by the English, are delivered over to Belgian manufacturers; and the Belgian trade has amounted to £600,000 in the last year. Therefore the Belgians have had sufficient encouragement for occupying the regions we discovered in Africa, and which they knew nothing about.

Apart from the general course the French adopt in their possessions, and from their interference with us in the islands claimed for us by Captain Cook in the Pacific, the French have of late years provided themselves with an aggressive institution. This is called the *Alliance Française*, and its objects are the diffusion of the French language outside France. It derives large funds from the small annual subscriptions of a few francs, and it receives the co-operation of the Government. It is very active in Syria, Egypt, and on the coasts of the Mediterranean, in

assisting and establishing schools for extending the French language. It may be mentioned that the Italian Government subsidizes Italian schools in the same districts, wherever the Italian language can be encouraged. The French anticlerical Government still maintains the ancient policy of giving £40,000 a year to the congregation of Propaganda and the Jesuit Orders for promoting French interests in the Lebanon and Syria. Another recent French scheme has been to enlist the Jews in an effort to improve their schools by means of the *Alliance Israélite*. The funds so obtained are largely applied in setting up French classes and schools, and in cities on the Indian side and on the Morocco coast, where it is of great importance to the Jews to acquire English, classes for our language have been discouraged. Fortunately the English committee of this Alliance have in some cases come to the rescue, and have been the only persons who have contributed to promote the English language.

A distinguished French economist has lately given to the *Alliance Française* the handsome donation of £400. One of the most significant facts occurred at a recent general meeting of the Society in Paris, where delegates from Canada were specially received. Besides much boasting as to their proceedings among the *habitans* in Canada, and their devotion to their French mother-country, a speaker stated that in the last ten years he had promoted the emigration to Canada of 40,000 Frenchmen. These he had diverted from the States and from Lower Canada, and had directed them to the Canadian North-West. That is, to the regions where the French missionaries are labouring among the half-breed Indians, and where the late dangerous rebellion and civil war was raised by Riel, and which has become one of our most vulnerable points.

Our Indian readers may be able to inform the public here, what has been the course of the authorities in India in these matters. We know what has been done during so long a period in the encouragement of Persian, Urdu,

and Sanskrit. The result has been, that since Sir William Jones led the way, and when Sanskrit was a decaying language, its study has been revived, and some day it may become an instrument against us. It was we who, when we arrived in the Ionian islands, finding Italian the leading language, were seized with a classic fit, and took the new Greek patois under our protection. In the end the islands were given up under seditious auspices to the mongrel population of the kingdom, calling themselves Hellenes.

Persian, Urdu, and Sanskrit are all foreign languages in India, as much as English is, representing foreign invasions and foreign dominations. As Mr. J. P. Hewitt, I.C.S., and others have shown, the Kolarian and Dravidian institutions and languages were displaced by those of the Aryan adventurers who entered Hindostan. Ill-considered counsels have influenced the Governments to promote classical and vernacular studies and to discourage English. English has been subjected to special discouragement, and it is only of late years that some attention has been given to its claims, although in a manner quite inadequate to meet the necessities of the populations of India and our responsibilities towards them.

The patronage of vernacular institutions has not produced corresponding results in culture. The yearly reports on vernacular literature show that little attention is paid to practical matters, and that the republication of ancient mythology or imitations of such subjects form the chief contributions. We have, however, provided a large crop of seditious literature in the shape of newspapers; and in time, if we continue our promotion of Sanskrit, we may obtain similar activity in that branch.

The introduction of English in the pseudo-universities and colleges has not been on a sound basis. Schoolmasters' studies of Shakspeare only provide other feeders of baboo-English. What is wanted in India is not examination literature, but a really sound conversational fluency in the language. The value of English to the natives of

India does not consist in a foreign familiarity with Shakspeare and Milton, but, as Mr. Lowell has shown, in obtaining access to our language as a great instrument of culture. English may be as useless as Sanskrit in a university, and only assist in turning out the myriads of baboo B.A.s and M.A.s, who may perhaps become lawyers of some kind or another, but who do certainly expect to be maintained at the public expense, and who, while waiting, devote themselves to blackmailing newspapers, the Indian press, and the trade in sedition.

The careers for university graduates in India are very limited, even for medicine, and their numbers should be strictly restrained, and the institutions should be suppressed or turned to useful purposes. The railway factories at Roorkee did more good work for India than any university. What is wanted for the development of India is work and workmen, and not Oxford and Cambridge schoolmasters with high salaries and great pretensions. A much inferior class of Englishmen, like the old school ushers, disseminated in every part of India, would be of far more good. Many of the local schools have done useful work in English instruction; but the whole system requires to be remodelled in the direction of less expense for scholastic performances of all kinds, and a greater extension of English teaching applied in a practical way. A provision, too, of schoolmistresses of a similar class would be most useful by promoting a knowledge of the language among girls. Some of the best speakers of English in India are Parsees, who in their early days had access to the English governesses in their homes.

What is the number of people in India speaking English in any kind of way is a very unsafe subject of calculation. It is as easy to undervalue it as to overestimate it. It is very desirable that in the census of 1891 some attention should be given to this matter. Undoubtedly recent efforts of the Government have largely increased the number of English-speaking natives; and it is from India that we may

expect the largest additions to the totals of our English-speaking population.

Our own resources have not been turned to adequate account. Some years ago Sir Charles Trevelyan was the active apostle of the extension of the Roman alphabet to transliteration, a most powerful appliance for the extension of knowledge. The general alphabet has since then been largely extended in Europe, and is driving the other alphabets eastward. There is good prospect of its further adoption in Japan, where it will liberate the people from the complication of syllabaries, which aggravate the difficulties even of the Chinese. Sir Monier Williams has done a valuable work, in which he has not been adequately supported, in the publication of his Roman-Hindustani manuals. If this system had been turned to suitable account, most of our soldiers and railway men would have profited by these books, and by their better knowledge would, in their contact with the people, have been useful to the general cause.

As to Eurasians, their relationship has been found of little avail. There is a pride of race which leads the Englishman to neglect his offspring by an alien woman. In Spanish America Englishmen marry native women, and, except the boys—who may be sent to a school in England—the children will be found to speak Spanish and to be Roman Catholics. In the Levant it is the same thing: the children claim English protection when they want it, but they speak local Greek.

In fact, the condition of these matters bespeaks that want of attention and organization which is the besetting sin of the English and the Turks, and which affects them at home and abroad. It is vulgarly supposed that all the Pashas and Beys are kept at Constantinople, but there is a supply sufficiently large to fill the Foreign Office and other offices in London, and the divan or parliament. The London Bey and the Constantinople one are birds of the same feather, and their modes of flying are identical. Few

people of India and out of it think of this abnegation of the English in care for their national inheritance. In every city of India, and indeed of the Colonies and the States, there is a St. Andrew's Society. Where in India is a St. George's Society? There is a Fort St. George officially recognised at Madras; but St. George's Day passes over without recognition, and without having hoisted upon the fort the red cross on the white ensign, the flag that braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze. Though in this century Scotchmen got possession of India, annexed it to the east coast of Fife, and turned the English out, it remains an historical fact that our Indian empire was founded by the old and central nationality.

Where there is a St. Andrew's Society or a St. David's Society in India it keeps up old and home traditions, and is equally enjoyed by English visitors. Nevertheless, such societies do not link themselves so closely and so directly with the common nationality, its language, literature, history, laws, and institutions, as does a St. George's Society. The latter societies are no longer regarded as cultivating a sectional nationality, but as open to all in a common nationality. They would be of as great use in India as in Canada or the United States; they would unite with the like benevolent aims, the opportunities of bringing together the communities, and promoting many national purposes. In India they would enrol English-speaking natives.

From want of some care we have rather created obstacles for ourselves than help. In all schemes of transliteration the *caré* of our officials is for a few Russian and German Orientalists and scholars, rather than for our own people. The contact of Russians, Germans (except those in our employ), and of French is very slight; whereas other considerations are of more importance. Even in such a matter as representation of the nomenclature of places in India, a system has been forced on us inconsistent with tradition and practice. The reader of an English newspaper, who is more to be regarded than the greatest High

Dutch Sanskritists, finds the names of towns and districts, formerly known, to be now unrecognisable.

One serious consequence is this : that the study of the English alphabet by a native is at once beset with difficulties. Instead of English sounds being preferred in nomenclature, some sound even anomalous in Europe, as, for example, some High Dutch form, is preferred. Confusion is needlessly created, and, however some few bookmen may be pleased, prejudice is created to millions.

Indeed the whole matter of linguistics in connexion with India is in an unsatisfactory condition. The English are decried as being no linguists, and every other country is extolled. The greatest school of linguists is the school of our Indian civilians and other scholars. It is a practical school, which considers not only books, but vernaculars. This has been the system long cultivated, and dating from the days of the Company. Many a man spends his life in the attainment of wide knowledge and the employment of it for the benefit of the people he has governed and has loved. He comes home to seek the repose he has so long needed. From the Indian or home Government he may have received no honours, or they are reserved for his death-bed. He has not, like a student in a German university, written a thesis for a doctoral degree and been required to print it, and which counts to him as a literary work. His labours of such a kind are buried in an Indian blue-book or record, which is oblivion.

The Russian schools of St. Petersburg and Kazan do not surpass us ; neither does that distinguished body, the *Bureau Arabe* of Algeria. The ancient Oriental school of Vienna, the new one of Berlin, and any at Brussels or Lisbon, if indeed any have been projected, cannot hold equal rank. We have, besides India, the services in China, Japan, and Siam, and with our home contingent we can hold our own in Oriental studies against all competitors.

We do not, however, in this any more than in any other matter, look after ourselves, or turn our advantages to the

best account. We allow others to crow over us, and we neglect our own people. In the sharp contest and competition always going on in the world we find that we must make greater exertions. By the efforts of an old Indian general, Sir George Balfour, we have succeeded in getting the War Office to give premiums for the study of Russian and also of Turkish, though this scheme is not fully practical. As there is a cry for the instruction in Oriental languages of the commercial classes, a speculative body much criticized, the Imperial Institute, has laid hold of this department. This Institute has decreed that two colleges in London shall constitute the Oriental School, and has provided professors of Pali and Sanskrit. The other appliances of the school are of the same unpractical character. The whole scheme was exposed by Professor Dr. Leitner, lately of Lahore, in the *Athenæum*, and none of the parties responsible have yet been able to provide any defence. Indeed, until there is a greater awakening of the public mind, we can hardly hope for satisfaction in this or other departments, and the *Asiatic Quarterly* may do useful work in arousing this attention.

So far as public opinion in England is concerned, there is one thing to be considered in all these matters—that the interests of this country throughout the world are so vast, that it is a difficult thing for any intelligent man, statesman or other, to compass the whole amount of information. Even a specialist will find himself deficient on account of the changing conditions of the world. The man who knows India well may know nothing of Canada, Africa, or Australia. It, therefore, the more behoves any man in a position of responsibility to endeavour to get good information, and to do, what few do, apply it properly.

HYDE CLARKE.

JOB CHARNOCK : A BICENTENARY SPECULATION.

WHAT manner of man was he who laid the foundations of Calcutta just two centuries ago, and who rested, in patriarchal sepulture, under that relic of royal Gaur, the black stone slab of his mausoleum in the Old Cathedral compound? What does it speak of, the pinch of probably semi-pagan dust which may remain there? What does it represent of honesty and honour, of kindliness and affection, of talent and energy, of courage and decision? Time has appraised and softened down the jealousies and heart-burnings of his sufficiently eventful day. Let us look back upon our evidence in the spirit which would consider it better much to extenuate than aught to set down in malice.

Carlyle, that greatest if most lurid of historical portrait-painters, could not, it is said, ascertain enough of the man John Graham, of Claverhouse, to add him to his gallery. Of fact there was enough concerning him, of fable there was to spare; but of the real personality little save the picture of a cherub-lipped, sleepy-faced boy, hardly more convincing of its truth than the intuition of genius found that representation of stern John Knox to be which had been accepted as his presentment by an unthinking world. And in the shrewd, smug Job Charnock, of India Office record, the whimsical, romantic personage of ultra-official legend would hardly be recognised. What was he then? A mere self-seeker, subtle, peevish, self-willed, devoid of principle, a weak creature of circumstance and impulse; a successful speculator, a heathen, cruel and unscrupulous, fit victim for the lash of an Oriental tyrant? Or was he a far-

sighted pioneer of enterprise and commerce, who, like Peter the Great, recognised in a swamp the heaven-ordained site of a great city? Upon the evidence available to us that puisne judge Æacus and his "brother" Rhadamanthus might argue and wrangle, while Chief Justice Minos himself sat undecided. What was the verdict of the Stygian trio with the whole case before them? But no reporter sits in their grim court, and to-day's decision is left to something very much like guess-work.

"He appears to have passed his time under the influence of native associations. He had no large or comprehensive views; he was vacillating, timid, and cruel." So decides a Calcutta reviewer; but the last adjective we may reject with little hesitation. It rests upon no better foundation than the statement of spiteful Alexander Hamilton, the enterprising trader, who had no good words to waste upon the servants of a Company so uncompromising in its dealings with the "interloper"—that uncovenanted and accursed being who was to then would-be monopolists very much more decidedly "anathema maranatha" than is even Greek or German to the British merchant of to-day. The list of people to whom "the groans and cries of the poor Delinquents," condemned to the *chabuk* for transgressing their laws, would "serve for musick" so sweet as to be reserved for the dinner-hour, when the tyrant could most luxuriously enjoy it, is but a short one in any generation. A man is not to be thereon inscribed upon a mere traveller's tale, without sufficient evidence; without even one single detailed instance of such mercilessness being adduced out of a career of five-and-thirty years. And Charnock's inclination to cruelty is not shown by any action of his when, as commander in their war, he was found not half bloodthirsty enough for his London masters. Nor is his timidity any better indicated. Prove timidity, and cruelty might follow naturally enough, as a companion vice; but Patna and Kasimbazar were hardly fields of action for a timid man. The neighbourhoods of imperial despotism, and of provin-

cial, delegated, oppression and caprice, would soon have shown up any weakness of such a nature, and consequent unfitness for the direction of those operations which the warlike absentees in England confided to him. Although he did find himself unable to conquer Aurangzeb, as apparently expected, with his army of six companies of civilian-led troops, he certainly did his fighting manfully enough. And his vacillation is no whit more apparent than are the two other defects. The plan of campaign was not of his making; and in its execution there was nothing to earn such a condemnation. He is not to be blamed for the action of the crazy Heath, sent out to supersede him in military and naval command, and utterly to discomfit that Great Mogul who refused to pay the miserable six and sixty lakhs so reasonably required of him! No; so far as regards his triplet of adjectives, what this critic says of him that he was, there seems to be quite sufficient assurance that he was not. It may be well therefore to summarize what is actually known of his history.

It is found that having come out, probably as an "interloper," a short time before 1658, he appears that year on the records of the Company as "fourth" at Kasimbazar on a salary of £20 per annum; for even thus liberally were "factors" paid in the early days, when it was, no doubt, important to make expenses appear small and profits sufficiently oriental. He seems to have been at the Patna factory in some sort of command in 1664, and in 1673 his salary was fixed at £40, to be further increased, in 1675, by an extra annual allowance of £20 during his stay in Patna—showing that he had already made some sort of mark. He would appear to have gradually gained a high position in the good opinion of the London "Committees"; and for lack of other explanation, we must ascribe this to success above his fellows in business dealings for his money-loving employers. In 1676 they suggested him as the right man to go on a mission to Delhi on their behalf; but his fitness for such service may have consisted rather in his

having been their representative for so long at Patna, their most north-westerly factory, than in his display of any particular diplomatic talent. Be that as it may, although he did not proceed to the capital, he was trusted to select a *vakil* there to represent the Company's interests, and he thus became the channel of political communication between Native Court and Hugli Head Council. In 1679 he had so thoroughly gained the confidence of the Board at home as to be appointed "Chief of Cussumbuzar and 2nd of Councell in the Bay"; and the worthy gentlemen at the Nag's Head Inn flew into quite an unreasonable little tantrum because there was some delay in his transference to the post in the factory which was described as "the greatest Concerne of the Honble. Company in these parts." After a good deal of that scolding in which the Committees were such past-masters, their pet was at length instituted as directed, and about this period epithet after epithet of commendation and approval is showered upon him. In different letters he is "a good man," "an honest, just man," their "good old servant," and "honest Mr. Charnock;" while one gives him a character no doubt intended to cause his contemporaries' consciences prick as well as to laud the man whom the Company delighted to honour. He is set forth as "a person that has served us faithfully above twenty years, and hath never, as we understand, been a prowler for himself beyond what was just and modest: who therefore," proceeds the letter in a scream of gratitude almost as hysterical as surprising from such a source, "we are resolved shall not live unrewarded by us."

This wealth of encomium from such masters would be more astonishing, if while penning it, they had not been discussing the powers to be granted to a specially appointed Governor-Superintendent and Agent of the Bay, whose despatch from England would seem to have been almost superfluous, if they had faith in the miracle of excellence and probity which served them in the shoes of

their able "2nd." It was, no doubt, well to keep Mr. Charnock in good temper when appointing as Agent over him a worthy Turkey merchant, who, having resided for some years in Constantinople, and there acquired a store of Turkish and Arabic which he would air with much complacency when occasion served; who, being also brother-in-law of their Deputy-Governor, Sir Jeremy Sambrooke, was considered a duly qualified person to be their half-trusted instrument of reform in the diplomatic and domestic concerns of the Bengal establishment. Honest, zealous, fussy, and self-important, Mr. William Hedges was to combat the exactions of the Nawab and his servants, which had become oppressive, to discomfit those pestilent interlopers, who dared to dispute some share of the plunder of Hindostan, and to rule the stubborn, quarrelsome, self-seeking European servants who were devoting so much of their masters' time, money and influence to the satisfactory lining of their own deep pockets. No man could have succeeded on such an errand without being endowed with full powers. Poor Hedges had an empty title. He was soon in a condition of unpopularity and isolation. His journal, which commenced in so purpose-like a style, shortly became a mere record of the iniquities of all and sundry his mutinous subordinates, headed by that rascal Mr. Job Charnock. According to rumour, there was nothing of which that gentleman was not capable, from appropriating the wives or widows of the unhappy Gentoo to cheating the complacent masters who had pronounced his "prowling for himself" to be of so just and modest a nature. No *badmash* in the service but was encouraged and screened by this "most despicable person"; no interloper but was winked at, and even assisted—for a consideration; no perquisite but was unduly stretched and abused by him. Now he was appropriating to his own profit 500 maunds of saltpetre, yielded by the "parings" of the inside of the warehouse at Patna; then he was accounting to the Company on remittances of rupees at a false figure, and earning

his cool £1000 per annum thereby. No tale told by Balchand, "the chief customar," "our grand enemy and corrupt villain," though he might be, but was grist to Mr. Hedges' grinding indignation. No scandal, indeed, that any native could retail, no European gossip, however idle, vague, or prejudiced, was too bad to believe of the individual who questioned his imposing authority, disputed his decisions, thwarted his plans, and acted throughout in most thorough disrespect of the important brother-in-law of Sir Jeremy Sambrooke, who sat in Council at Hugli upon the unconcerned culprit at Kasimbazar. Excellent man, what chance had such as he against the special correspondent, the adroit newsman of the London Court? That unblushing rogue did not even scruple to retaliate a counter-accusation of dealings with the interloper, which his victim found "insufferable,"—but had to suffer; although he could "no more bear" it "than an honest, virtuous woman can be questioned for her chastity." It cannot have been with unmixed regret that Mr. Hedges, one fine morning, found himself superseded and dismissed; indeed his thanksgiving to his "God, ye Creator of heaven and earth," for his deliverance from the plots and contrivances of Mr. Charnock and others of his wicked confederacy is very genuine indeed.

Though the more direct cause of Mr. Hedges' dismissal was no doubt his collision with that terrible "Generall," Sir John Child, of Surat, our Job, without doubt, contributed materially to the result. But, however gratifying might be the overthrow of the enemy whom he calls the "Pettish Commander, thwarted in his self-intended designs here," the bepraised of the Nag's Head did not, strange to say, take the place of which his rank of "2nd" would seem to have assured him the reversion. The good, honest, and faithful old servant, oddly enough, remained where he was, and Agent Beard ruled in chief at Hugli. What are we to think of this? Was it that the Committees found him the right man in the right place at Kasimbazar, and were

loth to move him thence? or did they, perchance, not trust him so fully as they tried to make out? Who shall say? For Hedges' stories of Charnock's unjust dealings, there must surely have been some foundation of fact; and perhaps the Board, while appreciating his services and recognising his abilities, were not over-anxious to give him the too extended powers for self-enrichment of a Chief Agent. Sir Henry Yule's study of documents seems to have convinced him that there was a great deal of private correspondence travelling home from the Company's servants to the detraction of each other's characters; and he gives "the memorable Job Charnock" credit for a large share of the influence thus exerted. The Court refers to such correspondence in one of its letters, saying that "some of our Committee and some other gentlemen that used to receive letters from them" (Charnock and others) "say they have none by our last ships." It does seem likely enough that Mr. Job may have made himself useful as a tell-tale, and that his talents in this capacity would be of more service in a subordinate than in a chief. Who his special correspondent in England may have been we know not, nor have we any information as to his family connections. Charnock is a Lancashire name; but what is this exchange of presents between *both* Job's daughters and Lady Wentworth, wife of Sir Henry Johnson, M.P., referred to in certain letters unearthed by Sir Henry Yule? Was the knight's old father, the shipbuilder, a patron of the young ladies' father perchance? At all events, if Charnock's representations carried weight at home, Hedges would, as a Committee man, probably, have known it full well, and that he felt uneasy upon the subject his own words show. His undisguised enmity to the "pittifull rascal" thus shines forth as all the less wise and all the more honest—certainly unlikely to have been purely capricious. But if Charnock could tell tales of others, so could, and doubtless did, others besides Hedges of him. We may, perhaps, take it that the authorities did not wish to believe ill of so capable and

useful a man, but, for all their eulogies, did not trust him overmuch. True that so late as December, 1687, they write that they had always found his "to be the honester side of those old factions in Bengall." But the still later testimony of Sir John Goldsborough, "This, I believe, is most true, that he never wronged your honours in the price of your Goods, but he rejoyced to find matter to accuse others of soe doing, and thought it was Enogh to write of it home without meddling with them here," seems to show that suspicion had been, perhaps unwillingly, entertained at head-quarters. To London proclamations of his honesty there was generally a reservation, such as "for aught we see," or "as we understand." At all events it was not until the desk was to be exchanged for the sword that he was set at the head of affairs, and it seems possible that they were not exceedingly grieved to have lost their so highly appreciated servant when, upon his death, the Court wrote the brief and philosophical epitaph, "We are sorry, but we must all submit to God's will."

From certain of the conclusions of the Calcutta reviewer, it is not difficult to absolve Mr. Charnock; of all of the offences charged against him by obstinate Mr. William Hedges, it is not easy to believe him innocent. But if possibly unscrupulous, he was certainly astute. Such a man would be cautious and prudent in his manipulation of the udder of that rich milch cow the Company. He would understand how to manage the animal without its kicking; but none the less may he have squeezed it when opportunity served, and skimmed off a very fair share of the cream which it yielded. We have seen that "prowling,"—an apparently slang term of the trade, used in Dr. Johnson's sense of "roving for prey," and surely somewhat akin to the dread offence of "interloping,"—was not deprecated in the staff so long as it was "just and modest;" and there is a fine vagueness about the two adjectives which may convey that its victims despaired of ever finding servants who would be content with the means of gain which were

open and lawful to them. There was no such excuse for all the roguery which was going on as the apparently miserable salary lists of the day would suggest. Of course a young factor, however frugal, could not live on the £20 a year at which he figured. But neither, as we would gather, was he expected to. He was, no doubt, allowed certain very important expenses on a scale in some measure proportionate to those set forth in the records as granted to a "President Governor" in 1751. The salary being only £200, with a gratuity of £100 per annum, in all £300, upon which "batta" at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was calculated, bringing it to £337 10s., there were allowances made for diet, forage, light, fire, and servants equivalent to £2,340 more! Mr. Hughes speaks of factor (or was he a "merchant"?) Hervey, in righteous indignation, as regarding nothing but "to enjoy his little Seraglio of 6 Strumpets and live at ease upon the Company's Expense." At the factories all were certainly lodged, and, apparently, boarded free; so that the mere pay might be regarded as pocket money. But men did not go to India for a bare subsistence then, any more than they do now, and, as the Captain of an East Indiaman was allowed to carry a certain quantity of goods in his ship free of freight, so was the Company's servant allowed to do a little prowling. It were not right to muzzle the ox which trod out the corn; so the privilege of private trade was allowed, and such trade was assisted by the right of the "dustick." This *dastak* was a passport available to every writer and higher servant of the Company, under which he might have his goods carried over the length and breadth of the land free of duties and hindrances such as the merchandise of the natives themselves was subject to. It could be made available by a needy beneficiary to any one who chose to buy it, as the native Banians of course found it their interest to do, especially when obtainable, as sometimes, for a score or so of rupees. The Mogul being the sufferer, the Company did not trouble its head about the

matter until it became a cause of dispute with the despoiled rulers. Francis Ellis—another man with whom Mr. Hedges fell out—refers to the circumstance of natives working “our Dusticks, thereby cheating the King of his Customes; otherwise our Phirmaund had never been called in question.” In spite of the trouble it led to, the privilege continued unprohibited by the Company, and so long as the enterprise of its servants was confined to its visible bounds it was held legitimate enough; although no shrewd man of business could have failed to recognise the mischief of the system to the employers’ interests. To suppose that under it the masters either got the highest prices or the best bargains which were going would have been to expect the at least improbable. But the Company had a right to expect that its people should not use its cash as their own capital and enrich themselves by discounts and commissions on its transactions which should have gone into its own treasury. Now, in the science of the levy of *dastur* there is nothing to lead us to imagine Charnock to have been too scrupulous to exert his undoubted abilities. In the art, again, of managing the natives with whom he made any private business arrangements, of securing their silence or rendering their hostile testimony of no avail, he was, quite equally conceivably, sufficiently skilful. That such unlawful pickings did pass into the pockets of the Company’s *employés* is certain; and honest Mr. Charnock, we may reasonably suspect, got his share. He stands exonerated by Sir John Goldsborough from wronging his masters “in the price of their Goods;” but he might easily enough abstain from that, technically, while still fattening on perquisites and *dastur*. He is certainly spoken of in the Court’s letter of 20th December, 1682, as bringing such a payment into the Company’s cash—a course which is approved—but we doubt if he was too honest to pocket any such gratifications as were not, in his shrewd judgment, likely to be traced to him.

Troublous times were ahead when Mr. Hedges sailed

away in the *Recovery* for the Persian Gulf, thence to make his way overland to Europe, after airing his foreign languages a little longer in the East. It had taken him six months to come out in the *Defence*; it took him two years and three months to get home *viâ* Baghdad, and perhaps he was wise not to hurry. For he had been pursued even to Balasar by a protest from the Agent and Council at Hugli. The new Agent was that Mr. Beard who had upon one occasion made such a disrespectful and "filthy noise with his mouth as cannot be expressed" by the insulted Hedges, who was now accused of treachery and disloyalty to the Company, whose unsuccessful and unappreciated reformer he had remained for full two years of importance and fuss, and of sore damage to the vanity which had led him to pit himself against the redoubtable Mr. Charnock. That now triumphant disputant had been one of those who had latterly lent their voices to urge armed resistance to Delhi and its tyrannous executive. That the righteous earnings of the Worshipful Company should be diminished by the levies of the Mogul Emperor, and that any servants but the Company's should earn any benefit by the business of their masters, evidently appeared in the highest degree improper to Mr. Charnock. It became intolerable when he was shut up in his factory by a cordon of the Nawab's troops and had to escape, by some unrecorded stratagem, down to Hugli, when Mr. Beard died, and he, at last, became "Right Worshipfull Agent for Affairs of the Right Honourable Company in the Bay of Bengall." Soon he figured still bigger,—as "Lieutenant-General, Admiral, and Commander-in-Chief for the present expedition of all the Company's Land and Sea Forces." Stiffened out with all this buckram, what could our civilian-warrior do but flesh his maiden sword? And this he did effectively enough at Hugli, upon 28–29 October, 1686, in resentment of "the Governour's severity practised against us daily"; battering and bombarding the town, "mightily startling the Govern-

ment,"—to use his own expression,—and making them exceeding afraid. In spite of such successes, however, the terrible fellow withdrew southward with bag and baggage on 20th December, and dated his first letter (to Bombay) from the site of the future metropolis of India, "Chuttanuthea," 31st December, 1686. His orders were distinct to quit the Hooghly and possess himself of Chittagong. He did not approve of these and quietly set himself to contravene them.

It is not necessary to tell the further story of the war. Of the destruction of Jama and Balasor, the defence of Hijili and the distress to which the little army was there reduced; of the cessation of hostilities and the return, first to Ulabaria and next to Chatanati; of the negotiations with Dacca, interrupted by the advent of mad Captain Heath in supreme command; of how that bold mariner put Job and Tom and Dick and Harry on board ship, and,—after cruising about for some time with the Company's Council, now literally "in the Bay of Bengall," calling occasionally to play some antic before Chittagong or elsewhere,—landed them ultimately at Madras; of how for some fifteen months, a period sufficiently long to permit even Aurangzeb to miss and regret the source of revenue which had been driven away, Bengal knew not the H.E.I.C., until it once more put in appearance at Chatanati in July, 1690—all is written in the records and retold with some slight variation in the chronicle of Mr. Robert Orme. That writer, who speaks of Charnock as "a man of courage, without military experience," further reports of him that he was "impatient to take revenge of a Government from which he had personally received the most ignominious treatment, having not long before been imprisoned and scourged by the Nabob." Here is a startling statement indeed! Job Charnock "chawbuckt;" and "not long before." Yet Mr. Hedges had not heard of it, we may be sure; for he could simply not have helped exulting over it. And since Hedges' time Job had been far too great a personage to

be thus dealt with without a terrible to-do. No; the story must be dismissed as apocryphal, as gossip no more reliable than Captain Hamilton's insinuations as to its hero's enjoyment of the sufferings of others under the very instrument with the taste of which Mr. Orme asserts his familiarity.

On the whole, although Charnock's conduct of the war was very contemptuously written of by the Committees at the "Nag's Head" Inn, who only wished "he were as good a soldier as he is (for aught we see by long experience of him) a very honest Merchant," it was not discreditable in its result, considering the small English force available; and it gave the natives a juster idea of the fighting power of the people they had been wont to stigmatize as "Banians." Hedges tells how the Nawab's soldiers would, in their hindrance of the English, actually challenge them to choose which of their opponents to kill, and scornfully dare them to resistance, upon which they should see how they would be swept off the face of Bengal. John Company had now shown he was not to be trifled with, and Charnock considered the time had come to settle down at the spot of which the Court had written on 15th February, 1689: "Since he likes Chuttnautte so well, we are content he should build a factory there, but with as much frugallity as may be."

Captain Alexander Hamilton is in a position to explain, in the readiest and most probable way, how the site of Calcutta came to be selected. "It was," says he, "for the sake of a large Shaddy Tree . . . tho' he could not have chosen a more unhealthful Place on all the River." Documentary evidence shows that "he,"—the arbitrary Charnock,—was not, however, quite so happy-go-lucky in his decision as all that. A letter of 30th September, 1689, signed by him as well as by Mr. Francis Ellis, Mr. Jeremiah Peachie, and Mr. John Beard, Jr., says that they had already laid down their reasons for altering their opinion about Ulubaria as a site, and "Pitching on Chuttanutte as the best and fittest up the River on the Maine, as we have

since experienced and likewise been satisfied that Ulubareeah was misrepresented to us by those sent to survey it. But certainly had Hidgalee been a healthful Island it would have been the most proper and most commodious place in all Bengall both for Shipping and Trade." Hamilton has also to tell of the dangerous propinquity to Chatanati of the Salt Water Lakes, where the putrefaction of the "prodigious number of fish" which resort there in September-October, and rot when the "floods are dissipated" in November-December, produces "thick stinking Vapours," which were, he says, in one year, fatal to 460 out of 1,200 resident English. He says nothing, however, of the vapours of *lalshrab*, arrack, and "bole pongis," which probably accounted for half the mortality. And while dealing with the entertaining Captain's gossip we may as well look into the romantic narrative which has travelled down to us upon his authority. We have heard a little of the Job Charnock of the counting-house and the war-path, and are now introduced to another side of his character. Let us by all means take the Captain's own words. "The Country about being overspread with *Paganism* the Custom of Wives burning with their Deceased Husbands is also practised here. Before the *Mogul's* War Mr. Charnock went one time with his ordinary Guard of Soldiers to see a young Widow act that tragical Catastrophe, but he was so smitten with the Widow's Beauty that he sent his Guards to take her by force from her Executioners, and conducted her to his own Lodgings. They lived lovingly many Years and had several Children, at length she died, after he had settled in *Calcutta*, but instead of converting her to *Christianity*, she made him a Proselyte to *Paganism*, and the only part of *Christianity* that was remarkable in him, was burying her decently, and he built a Tomb over her, where all his Life after her Death, he kept the anniversary Day of her Death by sacrificing a Cock on her Tomb after the *Pagan* Manner; this was and is the common Report, and I have been credibly informed both by *Christians* and *Pagans* who

lived at Calcutta under his Agency that the Story was really true Matter of Fact."

Now for Mr. William Hedges' version, or versions, of, no doubt, the same story, given in his journal under date 1st December, 1682, at Dacca. "This morning a Gentoo, sent by Bulchund, Governour of Hugly and Cassumbazar, made complaint to me that Mr. Charnock did shamefully, to ye great scandall of our Nation, keep a Gentoo woman of his Kindred, which he has had these 19 years; and that, if I would not cause him to turn her away, he would lament of it to the Nabob which, to avoid further scandall to our Nation, with fair words I prevailed with ye poor fellow to be pacified for ye present. I was further informed by this and divers other persons that when Mr. Charnock lived at Pattana, upon complaint made to ye Nabob that he kept a Gentoo's Wife (her husband being still living or but lately dead), who was run away from her husband and stolen all his money and jewels to a great value, the said Nabob sent 12 Souldiers to seize Mr. Charnock; but he escaping (or bribing ye men), they took his Vekeel and kept him 2 months in prison, ye Souldiers lying all this while at ye Factory gate, till Mr. Charnock compounded the business for Rs. 3000 in money, 5 Pieces of Broad Cloth and some sword-blades. Such troubles as these he had divers times at Cassumbazar, as I am credibly informed; and whenever she or Mr. Charnock dyes, ye pretence will certainly lye heavy on ye Company."

Both chroniclers are "credibly informed," and we are impelled to wonder how many Gentoo ladies the amorous Mr. Charnock did bear off, and how his love-affairs gained so much more publicity than others'. For concubinage was practised by all Europeans, and there was no such dearth of available beauty as to drive any man to violent and injudicious methods of filling his zenana, such as might come to his superiors' ears and brew trouble. Was the heroine of the Captain's legend the first lady of the Agent's tale, who had been living with the ravisher for nineteen years in

1682, and must therefore have dated from Job's salad days, when first he went to Patna? Or was she the second person, who ran away from her husband with the valuables? Or were there two ladies abducted, one from the side of a dead and one from that of a living husband? Or were there three feminine victims of the insatiate monster, or even more? For the respectable husband of Sir Jeremy's sister-in-law would give us to understand that there was always some such trouble at Kasimbazar. Here was a "proowler" of a truth, and neither at all a "modest" nor a very "just" one! But that even he, with his handful of guards, would carry off a *Sati* widow at that period is hardly possible of belief; and how should such a person come to occupy a tomb when she died? If a Hindoo, would she not, as a religionist strong enough to convert her husband, have been burnt at her death? And if a Mahomedan, duly entombed, how about the *Sati*? And why should a cock be sacrificed? That sounds more like Obeah than Mahomedanism. And, granted the tomb and the sacrifice, how does the ceremony make Mr. Charnock out a pagan, or anything more than rather eccentric? "All his life after her death" would not give him many anniversaries to celebrate, if she died "after he had settled in Calcutta," *i.e.* in the latter half of 1690. It was but rather over two years later that the so inconclusively proved pagan died himself.

Sir Edward Littleton, President in Bengal of the Second Company, wrote, concerning the taking of "Gentues and Musteeches" to wife, speaking of "the case of Mr. Job Charnock and the Woman he kept, tho' of a meane cast and great poverty, which occasioned great trouble and charge to the Company a long while at Patiana and afterwards some alsoe at Cassimbussar." There are two things remaining to prove that Mr. Charnock's zenana was not always empty—the stones which marked the graves of his daughters. But whether its occupant was white or black, lawful wife or illegitimate companion; whether she sat

solitary or her name was legion, who shall say, and to whom does it matter? How little we really know of the man! While referring to his private life, it may be well to point out that it seems proved that "Chanak," the native name of Barrackpur, was *not* derived from that of the Calcutta Job, having been in use before his advent. He seems, somehow, to have been the subject of much talk, and creates the idea of oddity, of a being remarkable for some now unrecognisable reason. There are wonderful native tales about his destroying the river front of Hugli with a burning glass, and cutting through, with a *Belati* sword—save the mark!—a chain which had been stretched across the river, each link of which weighed twenty pounds! One wonders if he smuggled the ashes or bones of his dusky love into the more or less sacred ground near the first fort—to the east thereof—where his own slightly more Christian remains were to rest, and whence they appear to have been removed to St. John's Churchyard, when the Old Cathedral was erected. Or was the first burial-ground decided on and fixed by him because, as would seem, it had been a resting-place for the Mahomedans and thus contained the now vanished tomb of the beloved,—so that the pair might rest close together? Again, who knows? It would not be uncharacteristic.

But we are burying him alive. Let us, rather, leave him governing, or misgoverning, his new settlement. One who had not been notable for his own subordination to the Agent is likely enough to have been a severe, but not necessarily strong ruler, among the natives at all events, when he came to command; not sparing the *chabuk*, which, we know, was in early days sometimes applied until death supervened. He now set his face against private trade, "decrying and inveighing against it," as Madras reports, and "continuing his old differences with particular men"; evidencing, indeed, rather a cantankerous spirit, although he does not seem to have had the pluck to quarrel with people to their faces. The subject of our speculation is no

new one ; but it is one of perennial interest, and needs no excuse, especially when the two hundredth birthday of the great city on the banks of the Hugly is drawing so near. All investigators would have been genuinely glad if they could have discovered its founder to have possessed some of the grandeur which distinguishes the work he started. But all have had to turn away from their inquiries in disappointment. It really would appear that Mr. Job Charnock was a very ordinary and in no way admirable person. But for his being a sort of godfather to Calcutta, and but for the atmosphere of romance with which Hamilton's tittle-tattle invests him, he would be little better remembered than his hardly more insignificant contemporaries ; although that he was an "original" may, to some, seem to be indicated. Sir Henry Yule, after detailing almost all the fact and correspondence which forms the basis of deliberation here, also dismisses the disparaging adjectives of a former critic, above referred to. He agrees, however, with the idea of the man's being subject to native influences and local custom, and considers him to have been coarse and uneducated. Those little love-idylls, difficult as it may be to reconcile their details, do set one thinking ; and Mr. Elihu Yale's sneer upon the return of the refugees from Madras is suggestive, when he writes of "the Bengall gentlemen being in hast to return to their sweet plentyes which sandy Madras could not please them in." The want of education may almost be held as proved. Hedges says of the people who opposed him, "their extraction and quality are looked upon and esteemed so mean that they will not be admitted into ye Nabob's presence at any time"—as his superior self was ! The lads who went out to India in those days at about sixteen years of age are very unlikely, in most cases, to have known more than the absolutely necessary reading, writing, and arithmetic. It is to be presumed that Charnock was such as the others, although he may have come out older than they did. It may be noted that his tombstone does not give the age at

which he died, and thus affords no evidence of that at which he joined the service, which he would seem to have done as a factor, thus escaping the noviciate of the writer-ship. As to his coarseness—vigour of expression and invective may have afforded the ground for the accusations of cruelty against him. But when Sir Henry Yule concludes him, as he does, to have been a “strong man,” it is hard to find one indication to justify the decision. Obstinate he certainly was. The tone of his correspondence with Hedges is dogged, and his clinging to Hijili was stubborn in the extreme. We may conclude that from the very commencement of the war he had set his mind against his instructions to occupy Chittagong; and that Hijili—one of the London Court’s “pleasant Islands,” where its servants died like rotten sheep—was his selection as the site of the future capital, seems evidenced by the extreme reluctance to give up the idea of it as such manifested by the allusion to it in his Council’s letter quoted before (30 Sept., 1689). And observe that he really took his own way in the conduct of the campaign; adroitly, if not over-successfully, pleading the force of circumstances to justify his non-compliance with the orders from home, which he was not bold enough openly to disobey. It is almost incredible that a really strong man should have remained in the service of such masters for a half of the time he did, or, having remained, should have failed to reach the head of affairs considerably earlier. He had ample opportunity of making a decided mark on the history of India, and failed to do so. The very want of information about him proves that he was not a strong man and left no lasting impression on men’s minds or course of action. Sir John Goldsborough, who went out as Agent General in 1693,—and whose advent, it may be observed, would probably once again have relegated Charnock to the second fiddle, but for the preventive hand of death,—gives in his report home anything but a favourable account of the state of discipline, or want of discipline, which must have been growing up in

Calcutta under its first Governor. He writes, concerning a bad character named Hill whom he turned out of the settlement—"this man neither Mr. Charnock nor Ellis dare Contradict because they Looked upon him as a fitt man to dictate their Consultations and Letters, whilst the Slothfulness of Mr. Charnock nor the ignorance of Ellis would not lett them doe it theirselves." Then he remarks, "Mr. Charnock had what power your honours could give him, Yett I am well informed would never have reformed this place, for first he was poysoned with the expectation of a new Company; . . . so that he was afraid of meddling with anybody. Next he had another strange disposition. He Loved Everybody should be att Difference and Supported a Sergeant that sett them to Duelling, till Capt. Dorrill told him the Evill thereof, and allways was a friend to Charles Pale, one of the factors, whose Masterpiece was, to Invent differences Between Them and deeply Swear to the most Extravagant Lyes he could invent . . . Further he had another faculty of finding fault with most under him, and when Capt. Dorrill hath caused some of them to be called, he would say nothing to their faces; nor never tell them of their faults . . . and delighted to putt things off by Delay or referring them home." This certainly does not show the late chief in any favourable light, but clearly indicates weakness which could not rule by straightforward methods. The Court had itself; evidently, ultimately decided that he was a man of no grit, when it wrote after his demise to guard against the event of a future Agent being "of so mild a spirit as Mr. Charnock was overmuch." He pleased it because he was probably plausible to a degree; but, we would surmise that his really strong point was business capacity,—promptitude and efficiency in carrying out orders and detailed instructions from home. We have only to read the Court's remarks when Mr. Ellis was deprived of the Agency, as too weak for the post, to see how these London tradesmen valued a good buyer, who would comply with their require-

ments and thus save them expense and trouble in disposing of their investments. "Mr. Francis Ellis," say they, "may have had some failings . . . But we must be so just as to own that the Goods generally provided by him have come out completely well sorted and therefore we have no reason to abandon such an old Servant."

No portrait of Charnock seems to exist. The "Bay of Bengall" did not then afford a field for European Art, and he lived and died in harness. It was not his fate to come home, to dazzle and to pose, like Clive; to be the centre of interest and discussion, like Hastings, or of literary controversy, like Francis; to make a bid for the Mayoralty, like the "Pettish Commander" Hedges; even to vegetate like the brave and upright Holwell, to whom his settlement was, later, to owe a much more real debt than to its originator. A writer upon our subject has pointed out that Calcutta and St. Petersburg were founded about the same time, both on insanitary sites. They have, nevertheless, reached a robust maturity; and great Peter and indefinite Job would both be somewhat surprised to survey their cities to-day. One founder made some history; but the other was the mere instrument with which some history was made. One was a ruler of men; the other never rose above the level of a greedy, overbearing, not at all worshipful Company's very useful, fairly capable, most obedient humble servant.

STEPHEN GRAY.

THE HOLY MIRROR; OR, THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO FATHER JEROME XAVIER.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN.

AKBAR, the Emperor of Delhi, a contemporary of our own Queen Elizabeth, although a Mussulman by religion was a very tolerant monarch. About the year A.D. 1600 he sent to Goa for three Jesuits, the chief of whom was one Hieronymus Xavier, reputed to have been some connection of the saint of that name, for the purpose of having a book written in defence of the Christian religion, against the Moors and Gentiles, as the Mahomedans and Hindoos are termed by Louis de Dieu, who, in 1639, translated the book written under these auspices. It was entitled "Mira' at ul kadas," the Holy Mirror, or "Dastan-i-Nasih," the story of the Messiah, and is that noted at the head of this article. The translator, in a Persian preface, says that Hieronymus Xavier has not written the story of the Messiah "in purity," because in it there have been added beyond the Books of the Gospel many things that appear either uncertain or false, or opposed to the Majesty of God, or the pure Faith of the Holy Gospel. He accordingly warns his readers that they must discriminate well as to what things they should accept and what they should reject.

The warning was not without reason, for much of what is contained in the work has been drawn, not from the Canonical Scriptures, but from the Apocrypha and tradition. In fact, a more extraordinary jumble of Scripture record and the wildest legends and fables has probably never been produced. It is, however, worth examination, to see to what lengths the Jesuits of former days were

prepared to go, in order to gain converts, in tricking up stories they thought would be acceptable to the taste of Oriental readers.

The preface, which is headed in Arabic, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," recites a legend similar to that of St. Veronica. When the fame of the miracles of the Messiah spread through the world, Akbar, king of Edessa, desired to see Him, and accordingly sent a wise ambassador to offer half of his kingdom, if Christ would come there. If the offer was declined, the ambassador was instructed to draw a likeness of Him and bring it. The ambassador did his best, but, probably being no artist, failed in several successive attempts, and was about to abandon the task in despair, when Christ asked him for one of his garments. Placing this upon his own face, Christ returned it with a perfect likeness imprinted on it. This the ambassador carried home to his master, who received it with every honour, and by virtue of it obtained success in all his affairs of consequence. The author proceeds to say that he has related this story because the king, the Emperor Akbar, had only heard of the perfections and greatness of Jesus in a manner contrary to the received traditions, and expressed a desire to hear of them in reality. Father Jerome Xavier, having been employed in the study of the subject for forty years, and in that of the Persian language for seven or eight, consented, and girding up the loins of bravery dispensed with all ease and comforts of life, and employed his time and heart in the work. Then he quotes an Apocryphal saying of the angel Raphael to Tobias, "It is good to hide the secrets of kings, but to make manifest the mysteries of God is a meritorious and approved thing."

The book is divided into four chapters, the first of which contains a description of the parentage, birth, and life of the Virgin Mary previous to the birth of the Messiah, and secondly, one of the birth and early life of

Christ. The second chapter is descriptive of His miracles and teachings. The third, of His sufferings and death, and the fourth of His resurrection and ascension to Heaven.

The following notes on the work have been made from the original Persian, checked by reference to Louis de Dieu's translation of A.D. 1639.

The first chapter commences with a sketch of the life of the father and mother of the Virgin Mary, but the author's authority for the details of this or of any other part of the narrative is nowhere given.

Her father's name was Shokin (called Joachim by De Dieu), of the city of Nazareth, a dependency of Galilee, and her mother's Anna, who was of Bethlehem of Judæa, the native country of David, of whose lineage both were. They lived in Nazareth, passing their time in the performance of good deeds and in the service of God, according to the faith that had come to the children of Israel through Moses. They were rich, and devoted one-third of their income to the necessities of the poor, and widows and travellers, and to the giving of gifts to the Temple and its servants at Jerusalem. Thus they spent twenty years with no other sorrow but that of the want of children, for which they besought God constantly in all humility. Three times a year they went to the Temple at Jerusalem to offer gifts. On one of these occasions Shokin came to make the customary offerings, but was turned back in disgrace by Issachar, the high priest, with the remark that God, who had for so many years denied him the fruit of blessing, must be displeased with him for some inward impurity. In consequence of this disgrace, Shokin would not return home, but turned his face towards the desert, and living among his own shepherds, served God in all humility and wretchedness. Anna, grieving at her separation from him and his disgrace, stayed at Jerusalem, also continuing in God's service. In the end God listened to their cry, and sent an angel to Shokin to give him the glad tidings that

God had accepted his humility, and approving the charities he had done, would bestow on him a daughter whom he should call Mariam (Mary). She should be filled with the Holy Ghost from the time of her conception. Her parents must fulfil a vow they had previously made to dedicate any child they might have to the service of God, and she must accordingly be brought up in the Temple apart from men. He must remember that great men of old, such as Isaac, Jacob, and Samuel, had been born at a time when their parents had no hope of offspring. God therefore desired that he should have a daughter in his old age, when his hope had grown faint. That he might have no doubt of the truth of what he had been told, he was to go to the Golden Gate of Jerusalem, and he should there find his wife, who had come to seek him. At this moment the angel disappeared, and going to Anna revealed to her that she should have a daughter of whom the Saviour of the world should be born. Anna thereon leapt up with joy to go and seek her husband, whom she met, as prophesied by the angel, at the Golden Gate. They went home together to Nazareth; and so particular is Father Jerome's information supposed to have been, that he can state that Anna conceived on the 15th of December, and on the 8th of the following September her child was born, to the astonishment and joy of mankind.

The great event cannot be allowed to pass without another sign from heaven. There was a man,—who he was is not stated,—who worshipped God continually in the desert. On the 8th of September every year he used to hear a song of joy in the heavens, and one day asked an angel its reason. He was told it was the birthday of the mother of the Messiah, and, inquiring from the books, found such was the case. From that time the world had observed the Feast of the Virgin, according to the decree of Pope Innocent the IV., in A.D. 1250. It is not generally understood that angels have appeared to men at such a late date as this, but the Father's own account is a little

confused. He goes on to say that on the death of Pope Coelestus IV., the Cardinals could not agree as to his successor, and there was no Pope for twenty months, much to the grief of the Cardinals and Christians in general. A suggestion was then made by some one, that in order to obtain the assistance of the Virgin they should make a vow that whoever was elected Pope should decree that Christians should hold a Feast for eight days from her birthday in her honour. The result was, that the Cardinals unanimously voted for Innocent IV., who accordingly established the Feast.

When the Virgin was three years old, she was taken on Friday, the 21st of November (Father Jerome is very particular as to dates and days of the week), to the Temple and left there with other girls to be brought up in the service of God by noble women appointed for the purpose. It was the custom on such occasions for the High Priest and others to meet the children at the door, to which fifteen steps led up. At each step one of the psalms was recited, but the Virgin withdrew her hand from the person who held her, and at once mounted the whole flight to the amazement of those present.

The story goes on to say that, although she was of tender years, she performed the services of God as if she were grown up, serving Him with all earnestness, in the hope of the coming of the Messiah who should save mankind. She thought little of herself, and served her companions with a good will. She divided her time so that the first watch was passed in the worship of God, and in reflecting on His goodness, and the second in serving and washing the utensils of the Temple and eating. She ate with complete abstinence, and, such is the extraordinary assertion of the author, at most times brought her daily food from heaven! The rest of her time she spent in reading the Holy Books. When she perceived the time of the Messiah was approaching, she greatly rejoiced, and continually said: "Would that I were the woman whose

son the Messiah is to be!" She loved chastity so much that, without its being suggested to her, she vowed perpetual virginity. On this Father Jerome remarks that she was the first woman who had ever done so.

She remained in the Temple till she was thirteen years old, the marriageable age, but when it was proposed that she should marry some suitable man among her own relatives, she refused, and urged the vow she had made. Whereupon the priest began to think, that as the Messiah was to be born of a virgin, she might be that virgin. The wise men whom they consulted not being able to help them out of their difficulty, they inquired of God, Who revealed to them,—these revelations seem to have come very conveniently for Father Jerome,—that, notwithstanding her vow, it was His will that she should not only have a husband, but also that husband should be chosen in a miraculous manner. All the unmarried men of the lineage of David were to assemble in the Temple, each with a rod in his hand, and he whose rod blossomed and bore flowers should be Mary's husband. This being done, the rod of Joseph, son of Jacob, when the prayers that were offered up on the occasion ended, suddenly blossomed. As he was thus evidently the chosen of God, he was married to her. Notwithstanding this, the desire was put into his heart by God to be all his life like her, and he accordingly vowed perpetual celibacy. They lived together as brother and sister.

At this point a doubt seems to have struck Father Jerome as to the necessity for the Virgin's being provided with a nominal husband; and he sets to work to explain it in a remarkable way. In the first place, it was done in order to protect her, when it was determined that she should be the mother of the Messiah, from the suspicion of unchastity until the time came when the truth should be revealed. And, in the second place, the real state of the case had to be concealed from Satan, who knew from the Sacred Writings that the Messiah was to be born of a Virgin.

Mary had consented to the marriage because she knew from God that His purpose with regard to her would not be changed, and Joseph would obey Him and act according to His will.

Then follows a personal description of the Virgin. She was of middle height, of a wheaten (brown) complexion, a drawn face, large eyes, inclined to blue, golden hair, and hands and nails long and shapely. Her speech was always soft, and her eyes were cast down through modesty. Her clothes were those of a poor person, but clean. She had such dignity of face that if a bad man looked upon her he collected himself and became another man. All loved her for her goodness and humility, and praised and considered her great. Both outwardly and inwardly she appeared worthy of selection as the mother of the Messiah.

The Annunciation is related pretty much as in the Gospels; but Gabriel, whose name, it is explained, means "the power of God," is accompanied at the time by a multitude of angels. The Virgin had closed the door of her room, and was engaged in worshipping God and meditating on Isaiah's words that a Virgin should conceive and bear a son, and his name should be called Emmanuel, that is, "God with us." She desired greatly to see that Virgin, and said: "Would that I might be the lowest of her servants!"

All this and much more must, of course, have been specially revealed to Father Xavier (or the authorities he drew his information from), who proceeds to say that the angel suddenly appeared in the form of a handsome young man—pure, full of dignity and light—who knelt humbly on the ground as he addressed her. Her amazement did not arise from seeing an angel, for she had seen many of them, but from the humble manner in which she, who was so little in her own eyes, was spoken to.

Gabriel is made to explain, that when it is said God will seat her Son on the throne of his father David, a visible kingdom over the bodies of men is not meant, but a spiritual kingdom over their souls. By the "house of Jacob," over

which the Son was to reign, was intended the elect of God, over whom, as their head, He should rule on the earth for ever.

Being told of the miracle by which God's purpose in making her the mother of the Messiah should be accomplished without her vow of virginity being broken, she, after several hours' reflection, at last consented in the words: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord. Be it unto me according to Thy word!"

It was not until she thus consented that Gabriel, with great joy, departed, and immediately the great mystery of God taking our flesh upon Him and becoming man was accomplished. "God, of His own power, had made Adam from a piece of earth, and produced Eve from his bone, afterwards pouring into them life, which had come from nothing. That same God, from the pure blood of a Virgin, created that Holy [One the Persian word is *Khâs*], at the same time He created the soul and placed it in Him, and made Him complete, with body and soul and manhood." These words are literally translated from the original.

Then is next related, very much in the terms of the Gospels, the story of the conception and birth of John the Baptist. This is followed by an account of the visit of Mary to Elizabeth, which contains accurate translations of the Magnificat and the Benedictus.

Next comes the proceeding of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem for the purpose of the taxation census. This and the poor accommodation they found there are described nearly as in the Gospel, a good deal being made of the hardships of the Virgin's journey on a mule's back.

The birth of the Messiah is now set forth, the opportunity being taken, as might have been expected, to import a good many more miracles. The Virgin had been informed by direct revelation from heaven of the immediate approach of the great event. She suffered no labour pains like other women, the reason alleged for this being positively too indecent to transcribe. Having been thus prepared, she

knelt down, and lifting up her eyes and hands to heaven, delivered herself to God. It was midnight and all was still. In the midst of her prayers she felt a strange gladness steal into her heart, and looking down on the ground saw that Jesus had been born. Hearing His first cry, like that of any other child, she threw herself on the ground, and with eyes full of tears and a heart full of joy worshipped Him as her own God. Then she rose, and kissing and embracing Him as a mother, put Him into the manger, because there was no other place to put Him.

All this time angels were coming down from heaven and singing: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth salvation (salámat). Good will towards men." A thousand other praises were sung, which Mary heard and joined in. Gabriel headed the angels to tell the people of the neighbourhood, and went to a band of shepherds who were guarding their sheep. He informs and salutes them in the terms given in the Gospels, and another band of angels appears, singing praises to God, as the former had. The proceeding of the shepherds to Bethlehem and the finding of the child, whom they recognised as the One spoken of by the angels, are recorded; but before going on with his history the author desires to point out what had become manifest through this birth. The wonders already recited are repeated, and it is stated that after, as well as before her delivery, Mary remained a virgin.

In this night two other wonderful events are said to have taken place. The first was that there appeared in the City of Rome a spring of olive oil, which flowed as a river into the sea, a sign that the Messiah had been born into the world as a fountain of redemption and mercy for the needy and sick. The second was this: It was the custom for the doors of the Temple of Janus, that is, the lord of closing and opening of affairs, especially affairs of war, to be closed in times of peace and opened when war prevailed. As they were closed at the time of the birth of Christ, in the reign of the Emperor Octavius Cæsar, the people desired to pay

the latter divine honours, and went to him to propose it. Knowing himself to be a mortal, who would die, he refused. When they insisted he sent for a Sibyl, and asked her if there was to be born on earth one greater than himself. She said she would answer him on a certain day. On the ninth day, which was that appointed, the Emperor assembled the great men of Rome to hear what she would say. She came and took him into a corner, and showed him a golden circle round the sun at noon, in the midst of which was a girl of great beauty and full of light, who held before her bosom a child in her hands. She told the Emperor that this child was greater than he, and those who were assembled heard a voice, saying: "This is the Messiah." The people accordingly drew back from their purpose of proclaiming the Emperor a god. At that time they did not know the meaning of the sign, but in a little while they found that Jesus, the Messiah, had been born that day of the Blessed Virgin.

In course of time the very house in which this sign had appeared was made into a church, in which the Fathers of St. Francis still ministered, and which was called the Church of Santa Maria (? ara cieli).

The same night, at midnight, another wonderful thing happened in the city of Rome. There was a beautiful temple devoted to the God of Peace, in which a devil gave answers to those that asked questions of the god Apollo. When they inquired of it how long that temple should endure, the answer was that it would last till a virgin should bring forth a child and still remain a virgin. Considering this an impossibility, they put a stone tablet in the wall setting forth that the temple would endure for ever. This temple fell down on the night that Jesus was born.

On the same day three suns appeared in the country of Spain, and after a time the three joined together and became one. This was emblematic of the Trinity in Unity of the Godhead. In another part of Spain a very brilliant cloud appeared that made night as clear as day.

At the time of his death, the prophet Jacob had foretold to his son Judah that the kingship over the house of Israel should not depart from his family and his stock until the time when He should come who was to come, that is, the Messiah, who was the expectation of the people. This prophecy was accomplished in this way, that, even when the Israelites were captives to Nebuchadnezzar, and afterwards when they were subdued by the Romans, sons of Judah had ruled over them by order of the kings, until Herod became king and the Messiah was born. Herod was a stranger in the land, his father being of the country of Idumæa, and his mother being an Arab.

On the eighth day after His birth, the Messiah was circumcised, to show that the law of Moses was not to be set aside, lest the Jews should consider Christ a stranger.

After this is related the incident of the visit of the three kings of the East, whose names are given as Melchior, Kaspar, and Baltasar, under the guidance of the star, to see the Messiah, with their returning home by another road in disobedience to the orders of Herod, the description corresponding with that in the Gospels. It is stated that having seen the King of kings in such poverty, they made themselves poor in order to serve Him; that they eventually became Christian bishops, having been baptised by St. Thomas, and converted many to Christianity.

The presentation of Christ in the Temple, with the song of Simeon, and His being seen by the prophetess Anna, are narrated much in the terms of the Gospel, as is also His being taken into Egypt. In the course of the latter narrative it is stated that there is a spring of water near Memphis, in Egypt, in which the Virgin washed her own and her Son's clothes. When the inhabitants of the place planted balsam trees in the land near the spring, they found that no fruit was produced until they irrigated it with water from the spring: the trees then bore abundantly.

In the story of the slaughter of the Innocents by Herod's order, it is stated that his own child, who was being brought

up near Bethlehem, was killed by mistake, a fact not mentioned in the Gospels. The Emperor is said to have remarked in jest, when he heard of this, that in Herod's house a pig would be better preserved, meaning that as Herod had become a Jew, he would not order a pig to be killed. Herod is reported to have killed himself with a knife soon afterwards ; a fit reward for his cruelty.

From Egypt, Joseph, being warned by an angel, returns with the Messiah and His mother to Nazareth, and lives there according to prophecy. The first chapter of this remarkable book closes with an account, which corresponds with that in the Gospel, of Christ's being found in the Temple, when He was twelve years old, disputing with the doctors, and when He was discovered by His mother, returning with her and Joseph to Nazareth and being obedient to them.

The second chapter contains the story of the miracles and teaching of Christ, and His life generally up to the time of His death. It agrees well with the Gospel narrative, and the translation is so good that any one wishing to write the New Testament in Persian could not do better than consult it for the purpose. It is arranged so as to bring in the whole, gathered from the different Gospels, in due sequence, and contains nothing that Protestants do not receive, except that when Christ says to Peter, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will found My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," the sentence is continued : "To thee I have given the keys of the kingdom of heaven : whatsoever thou hast bound on earth and in heaven shall (not?) be opened." It goes on, curiously enough, to say that the disciples were commanded not to say that it was He.

In the third chapter, that relating to Christ's sufferings and death, when Peter is addressed in the words, "Simon, Simon, Satan has desired to sift thee as wheat, but I have prayed for thee that thy faith may not be destroyed," the words are added : "The faith of Peter, who is the first

vicegerent (khalifah), shall never be injured, and his work will be to strengthen others." The author adds: "And thus it has happened, that up to to-day no step (or foundation) that is of the vicegerent (literally, the sitter on the place, or deputy) has ever been injured in the faith."

The account in this chapter of Christ's arrest, and being taken before the Chief Priests, and subsequently before Pilate, is much the same as that recorded in the Gospels, only that details are occasionally supplied which reduce the sublime to the ridiculous, as, for instance, when it is said that from the force of a blow struck on Christ's blessed face, blood flowed from His nose. The story of Peter's denial of Christ, and his distress at Christ's looking at him as soon as the cock crowed, is told with the addition that Peter continued to weep and lament as long as he lived, and his face was burnt up with the hot tears he was always shedding. Where Christ is scourged, it is said that six men were employed in doing so, two and two, and struck and beat Him with such violence that blood flowed from His body, and pieces of flesh were cut off and fell on the ground, so that the whole body became one wound, and the white of the bones was seen; five thousand eight hundred and eighty odd stripes are said to have been given. As He is on the road to Calvary, a noble lady, Veronica, who sees Him from her house, comes down to console Him, and wipes His face with a cloth, on which, when she withdraws it, she finds a perfect picture of Him imprinted on each fold; one of these likenesses is said to be in Spain, one in Milan, and the third in Rome. Christ, on seeing His mother swoon away on the road, is said to have fainted also, and to have been picked up by the Jews. His right hand is said to have been first nailed to the Cross, and the veins shrivelled up so that the left hand would not reach the hole made for it, and great force had to be used to stretch it to its proper place. When the Cross was raised, it trembled so that His wounds were enlarged, and His sufferings were greatly increased. These details are given to show the

extent to which Father Jerome could draw upon his imagination, for it is presumed even he could not have asserted that, although they are not contained in the Gospels, they were specially revealed to him. Other miracles are related. Several conversions occurred through the earthquakes and other signs, and the soldier who pierced Christ's side with his spear, having, up to that time, been nearly blind, recovered his sight at once through the blood that flowed down his spear, and became a Christian on the spot. The narrative is here interrupted to relate how a Sybil at the foundation of the city of Rome had prophesied the advent, miracles and sufferings of Christ, as well as His resurrection and ascension to heaven. With this the third chapter of the Holy Mirror ends.

The fourth chapter, as already noted, relates to the resurrection and ascension. In the commencement of this, an account is given of the four stages inhabited by souls after death. The lowest of these is that in which are tormented the devils and other sinners who die unrepentant. The next is the place of purification, where are the souls of those who have died repentant, but have not completed all they should have done. Here they will receive the recompense of the smaller sins they have committed, in order to become fitted for Paradise. The third is the place in which are infants who die before they have received the mark of salvation, that is baptism; here there is no punishment but a denial of the sight of God. The fourth is the place in which are all who have died pure, such as the Patriarchs, the Prophets, and all who are saved by the advent of Christ; here with much joy they wait His coming again. It was to this last place, according to Father Jerome Xavier, that Christ descended after His death with power and majesty, to the loss of the devils and the comfort of the righteous, remaining there to console the latter until the day of His resurrection.

The first person He is said to have appeared to after His resurrection was Mary herself. This was in her own room.

A light suddenly shone round about her in the darkness of the morning, and Christ came in glory, surrounded by the great Prophets. She adored Him as her God, but He addressed her as His mother on the part of His manhood, and blessed and honoured her, and after a long conversation between them, He and the prophets vanished.

The interview of Mary Magdalen with the two angels, and subsequently with Christ, as described in the Gospels, then follows. After this Christ is made to appear to Peter, who was grieving for the great sin he had committed in denying his Master, to console him and assure him of pardon. Then to James, who is said to have vowed, at the time when Christ was seized, that he would neither eat nor drink until he saw Him alive again. Christ, with great kindness of manner, told him to go and eat and drink. After this is related Christ's appearing to the two disciples who were on the way to Emmaus, and to the eleven Apostles when they were assembled together for fear of the Jews, when He is said not only to have shown them the marks of His wounds, but also to have asked them for something to eat. On this occasion broiled fish and honey were given to and eaten by Him, and what was left distributed among them. His subsequent appearance when Thomas, who had been absent on the first occasion, was present, and His acknowledgment by the latter, are also recorded. Then follows a description of Christ's appearance at the sea of Tiberias, the miraculous draught of fish, and Christ's eating before them, with His command to Peter, three times repeated, to feed His flock, and the prophecy relating to Peter's martyrdom and John's remaining till Christ should come again. He is said then to have appointed a day on which all should assemble together on Mount Tabor: on that day more than five hundred people came with the eleven Apostles, and He appeared to them and announced to them their mission to baptise all men in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. For twenty days He remained with them in Galilee,

and then directed them to go to Jerusalem. Again He appeared among them as they sat at meat, and, remaining with them half the day, again ate with them, in order to assure them completely. After desiring them to remain at Jerusalem until the Holy Ghost should be poured out upon them, He led them out to the Mount of Olives. There Mary and other women and many of His disciples were assembled, and in their presence, after having admonished them as to what they were to do, He slowly ascended up to heaven, bearing with Him the souls of all the righteous who had died from the days of Adam, the father of men, till then. A bright cloud hid Him from sight, and He was met by the angels, by whom He was borne up and sat on the right hand of God. After He had ascended, two angels appeared and told them of Christ's reappearance hereafter in all His power to bear rule. They all returned amazed and distressed to Jerusalem, and, as Christ had ordered them, remained there. The eleven, with Mary and many of the disciples, assembled in the house in which the last supper had been held, continually engaged in fasting and prayer.

On Sunday, at the Feast of Pentecost, the commemoration of the day on which God delivered the Law to Moses, all were assembled together to worship God, when the Holy Ghost was poured out upon them in the manner described in the Acts of the Apostles, and they spoke with tongues, to the amazement of people of all nations who were at Jerusalem at the time.

The address of Peter on the occasion to the assembly is then given, and the numbers of people who then and immediately afterwards became Christians are mentioned, and the book closes with an account of two letters written by Pontius Pilate and another ruler of the land, whose name is not given, to Tiberius Cæsar and the Senate at Rome. Pilate wrote to report that a man had appeared in Judæa whom his disciples called God. He had done many miracles, and it was affirmed by many witnesses that he had

gone up alive into heaven. His disciples were also performing miracles, by which they gave evidence that He was truly God. The other letter was from the man who had preceded Pilate at Jerusalem, and reported that a man of the name of Jesus had appeared who had the power of God, and was called Jesus the Messiah. The people called him a prophet with the power of the Lord, and his disciples called him God. He brings the dead to life, and heals those who are sick of any disease.

The letter ends with the following description of Christ's personal appearance. If this description had any foundation in fact, painters, either mediæval or modern, have certainly greatly idealised it :—

“He was a man of tall stature, of such dignified appearance that those who saw Him loved and at the same time feared Him. His auburn hair was straight down to the ears, and then curled down to the shoulders and below them. The hair on the top of the head was parted after the manner of the Nazarenes ; the forehead smooth and clear ; the face without blemish and moderately swarthy ; the look free ; the nose well-formed ; the mouth by no means mean ; the beard large and bushy, of the same colour as the hair, and parted in two ; the eyes blue, etc. Amongst the sons of men he was the most beautiful in face.”

Thus ends this remarkable book, remarkable for the apparently good faith with which the most astonishing miracles and wonders, unknown to the Sacred Record, have been set forth, and for the circumstances under which it was written. The translator into Latin is very severe in his comments on many of the statements contained in the work, but some allowances may be made on account of the comparatively unenlightened age in which the Reverend Father lived, and the evident necessity he laboured under, from a Jesuit's point of view, of writing in a manner to strike the Oriental imagination. The “*Holy Mirror*” as a whole is well worthy of perusal, if for no other reason, as a curious record of the means adopted by missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church to spread a knowledge of Christianity in the East.

PARALLEL PASSAGES FROM EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC WRITERS.

ORIENTAL poetry is commonly supposed to have but three themes, namely, flowers, wine, and women, and to be characterized by nothing but absurd and "far-fetched conceits." Such, however, is not the case of the highest class of Eastern any more than it is of the best Western poetry. The fact is, that true poetry (which is said not to admit of mediocrity), like human nature, is much the same everywhere and in every age. The "far-fetched conceits," which certainly abound in the works of some of the later Persian poets, are most exactly paralleled in the writings of those of our English poets whom Dr. Johnson, for want of a better term, has styled "metaphysical"—as Cowley, Donne, Waller, and others—and such must always be the result when one dips his pitcher into artificial ponds instead of going straight to Nature's perennial fount. But the works of the oldest Hindú and Persian poets will bear favourable comparison with the best compositions of ancient Greece, as well as with the most admired productions of European writers. This may be considered as a bold and unwarranted assertion by the out-and-out admirer of "classical" poetry—who means the compositions of old Greece and Rome, and quite ignores the fact that the best literary productions of any country are "classical" there. Yet if such a prejudiced individual would take the trouble to read, even in English dress, some of the Hindú dramas,* he will not fail to discover in them beauties equal to those

* Such as those translated by Dr. H. H. Wilson in his *Hindú Theatre* (from which are taken the passages from Indian plays cited in the present paper) and Sir M. Monier-Williams' elegant translation of *Sakúntalá*, by Kálidasa, who has been styled the Shakspeare of India.

he so much admires in his "classical" favourites, and, still more, that there is generally a striking identity of thought and even expression in the compositions of the ancient Greek and Hindú and the modern European poets. Nor is this matter for much wonder. The human mind does not seem to have made any appreciable advance, in its processes of reasoning and reflecting, since the days of Plato; and when we discover in the writings of men widely differing from each other in race and religion, manners and customs, similar ideas expressed in almost identical terms, we have evidence that human thought moves in certain grooves, so to speak, and that men of large and comprehensive minds, in all ages, think alike on many common subjects. In proof of this, I submit the following selection of poetical resemblances in the writings of celebrated European (chiefly English) and Asiatic poets, a few of which have already been pointed out by Dr. H. H. Wilson and others.

The fallen Wolsey's reflection, in his famous soliloquy in Shakspeare's *Henry VIII.*—

Had I but served my God with half the zeal
I served my king, he would not in mine age
Have left me naked to mine enemies—

finds a parallel in a poem by Firdausí (the "Homer of Persia") :

Had I but written as many odes in praise of Muhammad and 'Alí as I have done for Sultán Mahmúd, they would have showered a hundred blessings on me;

and another in a little story related by Sa'dí in his *Gulistán* :

A vazír went to Zú'l-nún, of Egypt [a celebrated Muslim saint, and chief of the Súfís, *o.b.* A.H. 245 = A.D. 859], and, asking his blessing, said, "I am day and night employed in the service of the king, hoping for some good from him, and dreading his wrath." Zú'l-nún wept and replied, "If I had served God as you have served the king, I should have been reckoned in the number of the just."

Everybody knows, and has often quoted, Young's line, which occurs in his *Night Thoughts* :

All men think all men mortal but themselves;

and this is how the same observation is expressed in the *Mahābhārata*, according to Dr. John Muir's translation of the passage :

Is not those men's delusion strange,
Who, while they see that every day
So many sweeps from earth away,
Can long themselves t' elude all change?

Longfellow's *Psalm of Life* is one of his most admired shorter pieces, and these lines, which occur in it, have become almost proverbial :

Our hearts, though stout and brave,
Still, like muffled drums, are beating
Funeral marches to the grave.

In this similitude the American poet was anticipated by Robert Chamberlain, who says, in his *Nocturnal Lucubrations* (1638) :

High time it is to flee vanity when the drum of Fate beats a quick march to the silent grave.

The same thought also occurs in the preface to Sa'di's *Gulistān* :

The hand of Fate beats its march upon the drum.

Next to Gray's *Elegy*, Milton's two juvenile poems, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, furnish the greatest number of "familiar quotations" in English poetry. Almost every line of both is well known, and this fine idea, in his *L'Allegro*—

Where brooding Darkness spreads her jealous wings—
is paralleled in the *Makamat* of El-Hariri—

Though brooding Night her dreary wing hath spread.

Among the many beautiful expressions of conjugal love which Milton represents Adam and Eve as interchanging in his *Paradise Lost*, one of the most intense is the following, which Adam addresses to "our common mother," when he learns that she has plucked the forbidden fruit :

If Death
Consort with thee, Death is to me as Life.

In a similar spirit does the love-stricken Zulaykhá speak of Joseph, in Jámí's admirable mystical poem :

The sapling of life were useless without him,
Life everlasting were death without him.

And in the noble Sanskrit epic, the *Rámáyana*, Sita, the spouse of Rámá, thus pleads for leave to accompany him into exile :

A wife must share her husband's fate ; my duty is to follow thee
Where'er thou goest. Apart from thee I would not dwell in heaven itself.

* * * * *

Roaming with thee o'er desert wastes, a thousand years will be a day ;
Dwelling with thee, e'en hell itself would be a heaven of bliss.

In another familiar passage in *Paradise Lost*, the archangel Michael informs Adam that

Love is the scale
By which to heavenly love thou may'st ascend.

This sentiment forms one of the leading doctrines of the Súfis and is thus expressed in Jámí's poem of *Yúsuf wa Zulaykhá*, in which perfect union of the human soul with the Deity is mystically shadowed :

Thou hast never yet stirred thy foot in the way of love ;—
Go, become a lover, and then appear before me :
For till thou hast tasted the symbolical wine cup,
Thou wilt never drain the real wine to the lees.

Jámí has these lines in the same poem :

If he [*i.e.* the lover] scenteth the rose, he longs to see it ;
If he seeth it, he cannot but pluck it—

a thought which Byron unconsciously echoes in his *Childe Harold* (iii. 2) :

Who can view the ripened rose nor seek
To wear it ?

Again, in *Don Juan* (iii. 2), Byron exclaims :

O Love, what is there in this world of ours
Which makes it fatal to be loved ?

* Compare Jámí (in *Yúsuf wa Zulaykhá*) :

In love there is no such thing as felicity ;
In love no such thing as satisfaction of life !

Its beginnings have their source in a bitter fountain,
Its ending in self-inflicted death.

According to the Hindú poets, there are ten stages of love : (1) Love of the eyes ; (2) attachment of the mind ; (3) production of desire ; (4) sleeplessness ; (5) emaciation ; (6) indifference to objects of sense ; (7) loss of shame ; (8) distraction ; (9) fainting ; (10) *death*.

The coincidences of thought and expression in the writings of Shakspeare and those of the greatest Asiatic poets, especially the ancient Hindú dramatists, are very striking. Thus Hamlet says that his murdered father was

So loving to my mother,
That he permitted not the winds of heaven
To visit her face too roughly ;

the same expression is found in the *Sháh Náma* :

He took such care of her that he did not allow the winds to blow upon her bosom.

And in the Arabian tale of "Hasan of Basra" the hero, referring to his fairy bride, says to his mother :

"Do thou serve her thyself, and suffer her not to go forth the door, neither look out of the window nor over the wall ; for I fear the air for her when it bloweth."

In the tragedy of *Macbeth* are the well-known lines :

Give sorrow words ; the grief that does not speak
Whispers the o'erfraught heart and bids it break ;

and in *Richard III.* we read :

Eliz. Why should calamity be full of words ?

Duch. of York. Let them have scope ; tho' what they do impart
Help nothing else, yet they do ease the heart.

Compare these passages with the following, from Bhavabhúti's drama, *Uttara Rámá Charitra* :

'Tis better thus
To give our sorrows way. Sufferers should speak
Their griefs. The bursting heart that overflows
In words obtains relief : the swelling lake
Is not imperilled when its rising waters
Find ready passage through their wonted channel.

The vacillating Prince of Denmark, after much fruitless cogitation, exclaims :

Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all—

a reflection which is also found in the Hindú drama entitled *Mrichchakata* :

Thus guilty conscience makes me fear, for man
Is ever frightened by his own offences.*

Another of Hamlet's observations—

The Almighty hath fixed his canon 'gainst self-slaughter—
is paralleled in the *Uttara Rámá Charitra* :

Nor dare I loose
The vital spark myself, for deepest hell,
Where the sun never shines, awaits the wretch
Who lifts his hand against his own existence.

As specimens of "excellent fooling," some passages in *Midsummer Night's Dream* are unrivalled in our language, but not so in the Sanskrit. For example, Bottom, the Weaver, as Pyramus, is represented as saying, with his characteristic absurdity :

I see a voice ; now will I to the chink,
To spy if I can hear my Thisbe's face ;

and again :

Eye of man hath not heard, nor ear seen,

and so on. Now observe the very curious resemblance presented to Bottom's nonsense in the following dialogue, from the play of the *Mrichchakata*, between Samst'hanaka, an ignorant and frivolous coxcomb, and Vita, his parasite :

Samst. I must search for Vasantasena.

Vita. Is there anything by which you can trace her ?

Samst. What should there be ?

Vita. The tinkling of her ornaments, the odour of her perfumes, and the fragrance of her garland.

Samst. Very true. I can hear with my nostrils the scent of her garland spreading through the darkness ; but I cannot see the sound of her ornaments.

* Butler, in his *Hudibras*, says, "the thief doth fear each bush an officer," and a very old book tells us that "the wicked flee when no man pursueth."

Is it not exceedingly singular that two dramatists, so widely separated by age and country, should have "hit upon" precisely the same sort of absurdity? Did they both live at the present day, one in France, the other in England, would we not be justified in charging one of them with barefaced plagiarism?

Our great dramatist's dictum that

Ignorance is the curse of God,
Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven,

has its parallel in the *Sháh Náma* :

Choose knowledge,
If thou desirest a blessing from the Universal Provider;
For the ignorant man cannot rise above himself,
And it is by knowledge that thou must render thyself praiseworthy.

Isabella tells the Duke in *Measure for Measure*,—

They say, best men are moulded out of faults,
And, for the most, become much more the better
For being a little bad—

a sentiment frequently reiterated in Buddhist books, as in the *Dhammapada* :

He who has been reckless and afterwards becomes sober brightens up like the moon when freed from clouds.

Addison has, in his play of *Cato*, which had such a great "run" in his time, but is not only never performed but never even looked at nowadays,—

A day, an hour, of virtuous liberty
Is worth a whole eternity of bondage;

and he seems to have been imitated by Bishop Heber :

Swell, swell the bugle, sound the fife!
To all the sensual world proclaim—
One crowded hour of glorious strife
Is worth an age without a name.

Sperone Speroni is reported to have said to the Duke of Rovere :

"Our happiness is not to be measured by its duration. I prefer to live one day as a man than a hundred years as a brute."

But all three were anticipated by the author of Buddha's *Dhammapada* :

A life of one day, if a man is virtuous and reflecting, is better than a life of a hundred years, if a man is vicious and unreflecting.

And Somadeva, in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, says :

It is better to live for one moment bound by the bonds of righteousness than to live unrighteously for hundreds of krores of kalpas.*

Prince Henry's speech over the dead body of the fiery Hotspur, in Shakspeare's *Henry IV.*, Part I.—

When that this body did contain a spirit,
A kingdom for it was too small a bound,
But now *two paces* of the vilest earth
Is room enough—

bears a very close resemblance to a passage in the *Makamat* of El-Hariri, who thus speaks of the grave :

A dwelling-place, where, restless now no more,
Each mortal, housed at last in narrow tomb,
How vast soe'er the place he claimed before,
With cell *two paces* long has ample room.

And in the Chinese poem, translated by Davis, under the title of *The Three Dedicated Chambers*, these verses occur :

Lord of ten thousand acres, flowering fair,
A few small morsels quell thy appetite ;
A thousand spreading roofs demand thy care,
And lo, *six feet* suffice thee every night.

With the Chinese "six feet" means simply to go to bed ; with us it signifies, in moralising, the grave. As death and sleep are universally termed twin brothers, the Chinese poet's illustration of man's natural littleness may also be considered as a parallel to the two preceding citations.

In Byron's *Monody on the Death of R. B. Sheridan*, he says :

Sighing that Nature formed but one such man,
And broke the die in moulding Sheridan.

Assuredly the noble poet had never read this passage, from the Sanskrit (but I have not a note of the drama in which it is found):

* A krore (or karor), in Hindú numeration, is ten millions, and a kalpa is a great mundane age, a day of Brahma ; it is 1000 ages of the gods. Thus a divine age multiplied by 1000 is equal to 4,320,000,000 years, or a day and a night of Brahma.

The mould in which Marú was formed is such than none other in the whole world has been framed like it. Either the mould has been broken, or the artificer has forgotten how to fashion another.

The expression, "None but himself can be his parallel," in the same poem of Byron, critics have censured as an illogical conceit; but it has been pointed out in the old Telugú *Sumati Satakam*: "He is comparable to himself alone"; and in the *Rámáyana* the idea is employed in a somewhat exaggerated form:

The heavens can be likened only unto the heavens;
And to Rámá and Rávana can Rámá and Rávana only be compared.

It is not to be supposed that the poet Campbell was acquainted with the writings of Firdausí, yet the well-known line in *Lochiel's Warning*—

Their swords are a thousand, their bosoms are one—
seems the very echo of a hemistich in the *Sháh Náma*:

They were many in number, but one in heart.

The comparison of the world to an inn is sometimes found in English poetry. Dryden, in his *Palamon and Arcite*, says:

Like pilgrims, to th' appointed place we tend,
The world's an inn, and Death the journey's end.

And most readers are doubtless familiar with the "Epi-taph on an Innkeeper," beginning—

Man's life is like a vintner's day;
Some only breakfast and away,

and so forth. Firdausí seems to have been somewhat partial to this comparison. In his scathing satire on Mahmúd of Ghazní, he says, referring to the time occupied in the composition of his immortal epic:

Thirty years long in this transitory inn
Have I toiled laboriously in the hope of my reward;

and again, in the *Sháh Náma*:

This transitory inn is after this fashion:
One is neglected, another enjoyeth every comfort;
One arriveth, another departeth.

A highly poetical thought is expressed in the following

passage, from the *King's Quair* (or Book), by James the First of Scotland :

Ah, sweet ! are ye a worldly creature,
Or heavenly king in likeness of nature.
Or *are ye god Cupid his own princess*,
And coming are to loose me out of band ?
Or *are ye very Nature the goddess*,
That have depainted with your heavenly hand
This garden full of flowers as they stand ?

An exact parallel to the royal poet's idea is found in Somadeva's *Kathá Sarit Ságara* :

When the young man saw her, she at once robbed him of his heart, and he was bewildered by love and no longer master of his feelings. He said to himself : " Can this be Roti, come in person to gather flowers accumulated by Spring, in order to make arrows for the God of Love ? * Or is it the presiding goddess of the wood, come to worship the spring ?

Sa'dí has also the same thought :

Who is walking there ? Thou, or a tall cypress ?
Or is it an angel in human form ?

The cypress is usually considered by Europeans as the symbol of everything that is solemn or gloomy ; by Asiatic poets it is employed as the type of female grace and beauty. Thus Háfiz says :

Send seats to the garden, for the cypress and the cane are standing together like slaves to perform their duty ;

that is to say, ready to make obeisance to the superior gracefulness of the poet's love—*his* cypress. Waller has some verses to the same effect :

The plants acknowledge this, and her admire,
No less than those of old did Orpheus' lyre ;
If she sits down, with tops all towards her bowed,
They round about her into arbours crowd ;
Or, if she walk, in even ranks they stand,
Like some well-marshalled and obsequious band.

The ancient Greek poet Hesiod expresses a very beautiful idea in his description of Aphrodite rising from the sea (Hookham Frere's translation) :

* Káma is the Hindú Cupid, and Roti, or Rati, his bride ; both are worshipped with offerings of fruit and flowers.

Where her delicate feet
Had pressed the sands, sweet flowering herbage sprang.

Ben Jonson perhaps imitated this in his *Sad Shepherd* :

Here was she wont to go, and here, and here,
Just where those daisies, pinks, and violets grow ;
The world may find the spring by following her,
For other prints her airy steps ne'er left :
And where she went the flowers took thickest root,
As she had sowed them with her odorous foot.

So, too, in the Kalmuk tales of *Siddhi Kúr* : "The maiden went on her way, and flowers sprang after her footsteps." This idea is very ancient, since we find it in the writings of Hesiod, and it was perhaps derived from the Hindús, among whom a very singular superstition has existed from most ancient times, which is frequently alluded to by Indian poets. They believe that the *asoka* tree, when barren, might be induced to put forth flowers by the contact of a handsome woman's foot. Thus, in the Hindú drama of *Retnavali*, one of the characters, describing the appearance of a garden, in which lovely damsels are sporting, refers to this curious practice : "The bees give back in harmony the music of the anklets, ringing melodiously as the delicate feet are raised against the stem of the *asoka* tree."

W. A. CLOUSTON.

THE HEALING OF THE SCHISM AMONG ORIENTALISTS.

PROFESSORS Dillmann and Kuenen, who were Presidents respectively of the fifth and sixth International Congresses of Orientalists, have circulated a letter addressed to Sir Henry Rawlinson, the honorary President of the ninth meeting of that body to be held next year in London. In that letter they ask him to use his influence towards reconciling the rival invitations from London and Oxford for the reception of the Congress by fixing on either or both of these places. They admit that the constitution of the Committee, formed at the last meeting at Christiania, which they represent, is not in accordance with the Statutes of the Congresses, and that they have not succeeded in getting any English, French, or Russian orientalist to join it. They do not mention eight other countries, all, or nearly all, the orientalists in which have placed themselves under Sir H. Rawlinson's banner in support of the cause of legality, making in all 300 orientalists, who represent twenty-two countries; but they hope that, as they approach him in a spirit of conciliation, he will unite all in one fold. It is also to be inferred that neither Prof. Dillmann nor Prof. Kuenen would agree to the transformation of a republic of oriental letters, meeting now in one, now in another, country at irregular intervals of one, two, or three years, into a close official body. Indeed, they desire that the character of the Congresses should remain the same as it has been from the beginning, and that, if anything in the original statutes requires to be amended, this may be proposed by their Committee in the regular way, and as regards, we suppose, formal matters only.

There is no talk now of either Cairo or Constantinople

as the next place of meeting ; and the idea of making the King of Sweden the permanent protector of the Congresses and M. Landberg the permanent Secretary appears to have been abandoned. England they all love, and to England they will all come in September, 1891, if only English orientalisists will agree as to the place of meeting.

Under these circumstances, there seems to be no reason why the present split should not be healed ; and, as both London and Oxford offer advantages of their own to the oriental scholar, and are within easy distance by rail of each other, half the time of the Congress, which generally lasts ten days, may be profitably spent in London and the other half at Oxford. In London the Congress will be more in touch with the practical side of oriental studies, which, as the greatest oriental empire, England is bound to promote, whilst the calm of Oxford, especially in September, may deepen meditation and scholarly research. In the rivalry of hospitality to distinguished guests, all Englishmen are alike, though it is neither expected nor is it desirable that they should imitate the profusion of last year's Scandinavian Congress. Once the place of meeting is settled, the Christiania Committee will transfer its powers, such as they are, to the English Committee, and retire, Professors Dillmann and Kuenen, of course, taking the place due to them, in accordance with the existing statutes, as ex-presidents in the London *cum* Oxford Congress.

The *iræ amantium* of orientalisists would not be of general interest if the above result of their temporary dissensions did not show that, in these days, even royalty backed by wealth cannot effect a *coup de main* in matters which must be decided by a majority of those concerned. Nor will the oriental scholars of England, France, Russia, and other countries bear the yoke of any one nation or person at an international gathering. German scholarship must ever be honoured, but it will not again be allowed to override the genius of French *savants* or the practical experience of English and Russian ori-

entalists; indeed, nationality has no place at a Congress to which the smallest race may contribute the most erudite or useful member.

To the French and English orientalists is mainly due the credit of having saved the republic. The former are, of course, directly interested in the maintenance of the original Statutes which an International Assembly adopted at the first Congress in Paris in 1873, and which have been the law of the Congresses ever since, with those deviations that the Statutes allow to local regulations. The principles, however, of these Congresses are unalterable, and it was in their defence that English orientalists successfully protested when, in 1876, Russian orientalists wished to give to the third meeting an official form, and to change the "International Congress of Orientalists" to one of "Oriental Languages." Since then the *entente cordiale* has been perfect, and has included not only French and English, but also Russian scholars. This fraternal feeling has now had no small share in inducing the French founders to make over their powers to a Committee for a Congress to be held in London, to which may be predicted a greater success than any of its predecessors has hitherto obtained, either in the world of letters or in that of "practical politics."

The following is the letter above referred to :—

À SIR HENRY C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., F.R.S., D.C.L., ETC.

Monsieur,

La qualité en vertu de laquelle nous prenons la liberté de vous adresser ces lignes ressort de la déclaration suivante, écrite par M. le professeur J. LIEBLEIN, de Christiania, vice-président du 8^e congrès des orientalistes :

"La décision de l'assemblée des présidents et des délégués que j'ai communiquée au congrès dans sa séance de clôture, présidée par moi, était de la teneur suivante :

" ' Dans la séance des présidents et des délégués qui a eu lieu ce matin, il a été décidé qu'un comité doit être formé, consistant de MM. le prof. DILLMANN, le prof. KUENEN et le baron VON KREMER, en qualité de présidents des congrès précédents, et de M. le comte DE LANDBERG, en qualité de secrétaire général du VIII^e congrès, pour désigner le lieu du futur congrès et pour réviser les Statuts. Ce comité a le droit de s'adjoindre un membre de chaque pays.' "

"Aucune voix ne s'étant élevée contre cette décision lorsqu'elle a été lue dans la séance de clôture, on doit la considérer comme adoptée par le congrès et elle sera inscrite comme telle dans le procès-verbal officiel.

Signé, J. LIEBLEIN.*

Nous n'avons pas hésité à nous charger de la tâche que le congrès nous confiait. Nous savions, il est vrai, que les *Statuts définitifs adoptés par l'assemblée internationale du congrès de Paris* de 1873 prescrivent une autre marche à suivre pour déterminer l'endroit où se réunira chaque congrès ; mais nous savions aussi qu'aucun des congrès qui ont suivi celui de 1873 n'a considéré ces Statuts comme absolument obligatoires ; au contraire, il n'y en a pas un qui ne s'en soit départi sur quelque point, jugeant que les circonstances l'exigeaient, et donc le permettaient. La liberté appartenant aux congrès était d'autant plus évidente à nos yeux qu'on n'a pas ré-imprimé les Statuts chaque fois qu'ils se sont réunis, et qu'ainsi il s'est trouvé à la longue que la majorité des membres ne connaissaient pas même cette loi. Bien plus, nous savions que, dans le cas qui s'est présenté à Christiania, l'endroit où devait se réunir le prochain congrès ne pouvait pas, matériellement, être désigné suivant la méthode conçue dans l'origine, par le fait qu'aucun des États de l'Europe n'avait formulé d'invitation. Enfin, eussions-nous encore eu des scrupules, la dernière trace en devait disparaître devant la considération que la proposition de l'assemblée des présidents et des délégués avait été adoptée à l'unanimité : chaque congrès décide souverainement de ses propres affaires, et tout appel est impossible.

Il a fallu plus de temps que nous ne l'eussions désiré pour arriver à compléter notre comité et à en faire une représentation vraiment internationale des orientalistes. Les circonstances ont rendu ce retard inévitable. Ceux qui avaient été désignés pour constituer le comité n'étaient pas tous présents à Christiania, de sorte qu'il n'a pas même pu y avoir dans cette ville de conférence préparatoire. Nous nous sommes dispersés après le congrès, et chacun d'entre nous a dû, loin de ses confrères, vaquer de nouveau aux devoirs de sa charge. La présente année n'était pas

* The wording of this resolution differs materially from the rendering as quoted in a letter to the *Academy* of the 17th May, 1890, signed by DAVID B. MONRO, WILLIAM R. ANSON, WILLIAM MARKLY, and which is as follows :—"At a sitting of the International Congress of Orientalists, held at Christiania on September 12, 1889, the following resolution was unanimously adopted : 'Il est formé un comité des présidents des quatre derniers congrès, MM. Dillmann, Kuenen, Kremer, et Landberg (*assimilé aux présidents*). Ce comité devra coöpter un membre de chaque pays pour former un grand comité international devant élaborer de nouveaux statuts pour le congrès et faire des démarches en vue de fixer l'endroit où se tiendra le prochain Congrès.'

Neither resolution, however, was unanimously or even regularly passed, and, as stated further on, the dissension among orientalistes has arisen on this very resolution, which gives a reason for the existence of the Christiania Committee.

commencée que notre comité, et avec lui la science, a éprouvé une perte extrêmement sensible par le décès du baron VON KREMER. Nous ne sommes cependant pas restés inactifs et nous avons réussi à nous assurer le concours d'orientalistes appartenant à divers pays. En ce moment les membres suivants se sont associés à notre comité : pour l'Amérique du Nord, M. HAUPT ; pour l'Autriche, M. BÜHLER ; pour la Belgique, M. CHAUVIN ; pour l'Italie, M. GUIDI ; pour la Norvège, M. LIEBLEIN ; pour le Portugal, M. PEREIRA ; pour la Suisse, M. NAVILLE ; pour la Turquie, M. MIDHAT-BEY. Nous n'avons, hélas ! encore réussi qu'en partie ; quelles graves lacunes ! ni l'Angleterre, ni la France, ni la Russie ne sont représentées ! Pourquoi ? La faute n'en est pas à nous. Il est né un conflit d'opinions au sujet de la décision du congrès de Christiania de laquelle nous tenons notre mandat ; là-dessus beaucoup d'orientalistes, ennemis des disputes, ont résolu d'observer une stricte neutralité et ont cru pour cela devoir s'abstenir de nous accorder un concours qu'ils ont refusé aux adversaires de la décision de Christiania. Nous le regrettons, quelque amis de la paix que nous soyons nous-mêmes. Mais si nous regrettons cette abstention, nous ne pouvons que nous y soumettre pour le moment. Vous comprendrez cependant que nous désirons ardemment de voir s'éteindre le conflit dont nous parlons, et tout particulièrement de vous voir vous-même, Monsieur, prendre dans notre comité la place que nous nous faisons un grand honneur de vous y avoir offert.

Il manque à notre exposé de l'état de choses actuel un trait que nous avons le plus grand plaisir à y ajouter. Le 18 mars, le dernier des signataires de la présente, en sa qualité de secrétaire du 8^e congrès des orientalistes, tenu à Stockholm et à Christiania, recevait une lettre signée par douze membres du *Board of the Faculty of Arts (Oriental Languages)* et du *Board of Oriental Studies*, de l'université d'Oxford, par dix principaux de *Collèges*, vingt-et-un professeurs et vingt-cinq membres résidents de la même université, pour proposer Oxford comme siège du prochain congrès. Les signataires se déclaraient en outre disposés, une fois leur proposition acceptée, à tout préparer pour les séances du congrès et pour la réception de ses membres.

Nous ne saurions décider s'il sera possible d'accepter cette gracieuse invitation ; mais elle mérite la reconnaissance des orientalistes, et nous nous estimons en droit d'adresser dès maintenant en leur nom de vifs remerciements à l'université d'Oxford.*

Dans la phase actuelle, nous avons cru, avant toute autre nouvelle démarche, devoir nous adresser à vous, Monsieur, en votre qualité de président désigné pour le congrès international d'orientalistes que nous avons appris devoir être convoqué à Londres pour le mois de septembre 1891.

Il y a un point sur lequel nous sommes d'avance certains de nous trou-

* The University of Oxford has had nothing to do with this invitation, nor did the vast majority of those who signed it know to whom it was to be addressed.

ver d'accord avec vous. Ni vous, ni nous ne voulons de schisme parmi les orientalistes; vous et nous voulons que le dissentiment actuel, qui ressemble déjà à un schisme, s'aplanisse. Or vous voyez par ce qui précède que nous, en ce qui nous regarde, ne saurions déposer le mandat dont nous avons été investis. Chacun d'entre nous aurait pu le refuser personnellement; mais l'ayant accepté, nous devons l'exécuter; c'est pour nous un devoir à l'égard de ceux qui nous en ont chargés, et les fonctions que nous avons exercées dans les congrès précédents nous commandent de nous en acquitter. Il faut donc de toute nécessité concilier le projet dont l'exécution vous a été confiée avec le devoir qui nous incombe. Il n'existe de notre côté aucune objection quelconque contre le choix de *l'Angleterre* comme siège du congrès; au contraire, dès le début il nous a paru désirable que nos prochaines assises se tinssent dans ce royaume; bien plus, nous avons la conviction que le congrès de Christiania aurait voté la chose, s'il avait pu savoir que l'Angleterre nous désirait. Nous sommes donc entièrement disposés à le proposer au comité. Mais avant que nous puissions le faire, il faut que les orientalistes anglais décident dans quelle ville le congrès aura lieu, à Londres, ou à Oxford, ou dans les deux. C'est pourquoi nous venons vous prier instamment de prendre l'initiative auprès d'eux pour arriver à une entente à ce sujet. Nous ne nous dissimulons pas les difficultés de la tâche dont nous croyons que vous devriez vous charger; mais nous savons aussi à qui nous adressons notre demande. Pour vous, Monsieur, les difficultés n'ont jamais été un motif de reculer, mais bien de tendre les ressorts de votre énergie; votre carrière n'a-t-elle pas mainte fois déjà prouvé que ce n'est pas pour rien que votre nation possède l'adage: "Où l'on veut, l'on peut"?

En vous adressant cette lettre et en la publiant, notre intention est de faire de notre côté tout ce qui est en notre pouvoir pour parvenir à l'entente et à l'apaisement. Nous n'avions à vous dire et à vous demander rien qui ne pût être connu de tout le monde; nous faisons donc usage de la liberté qui découle de là pour nous de publier ce que nous vous écrivons, puisqu'ainsi nous pouvons espérer concourir à la tâche dont nous désirons vous voir vous charger; les lignes que nous vous adressons deviennent par là aussi un appel à l'amour de la paix de tous les orientalistes. L'union fait la force; voilà ce que l'histoire leur dit, tout particulièrement l'histoire de leurs congrès; ils le savent trop bien pour songer à renoncer, qui sait pour combien de temps, à s'unir dans un commun travail pour l'avancement des sciences orientales.

Agréez, Monsieur, l'expression de notre considération toute particulière.

A. DILLMANN, président du 5^e congrès international des orientalistes.

A. KUENEN, président du 6^e congrès international des orientalistes.

C. DE LANDBERG, secrétaire général du 8^e congrès international des orientalistes.

Berlin, Leide, Stockholm, le 5 juin 1890.

It will be seen that the above letter has not been addressed to the English Committee, so that no notice can

be taken of it officially; at the same time, as quoted in the German papers, a most obliging reply has been sent by the Hon. President and President of the forthcoming London Congress to the two ex-Presidents, Professors Kuenen and Dillmann, suggesting as their personal opinion that the Congress of 1891 be held partly in London and partly at Oxford. The acceptance of this solution of the present difficulty by the two Professors and their following would enable the English Presidents to bring the proposal before the London Committee, with the view of uniting all parties in one common action for the good of science, and in accordance with the original principles of the International Congress of Orientalists.

G. W. LEITNER.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE last quarter presents no subject of special interest in connection with events in Central Asia. We are evidently passing through a transition period, and the love of peace, or rather the dislike of war, which is characteristic of the time, seems to have asserted itself quite as much in Asia as in Europe. Even in Afghanistan, where risings and sanguinary encounters have been not infrequent under the strong rule of Abdurrahman, there has been tranquillity during the whole of the winter, as the fighting at Dir and Jandol has occurred in a part of Afghanistan, where the Ameer's authority is not recognised. We cannot doubt that the continuance of peace so unusual in Afghanistan, must do much to civilize the Afghans and to accustom them to the pursuit of commerce and possibly to the presence of Europeans. This tendency cannot but be strengthened by the arrival of the railway on the plain of Candahar, and by its approach to Northern Afghanistan through the Khyber Pass. A similar effect will be produced on the population of Turkestan by the proximity of Russia; and already we hear, not only of Russian caravans into Afghanistan, but also of Afghan caravans into Russian territory. More and more is it becoming evident that the question of the predominance of English or Russian influence in the politics of Afghanistan is, in the first place, a commercial contest, which will be carried on bitterly, but without a declaration of war, and in which success will go to the most energetic and enterprising.

Under these circumstances it becomes still more desirable to know exactly what the Ameer is doing and what

his views are about the changes he sees going on, not only round his borders, but even within his own dominions. His prolonged absence in Turkestan has furnished natural ground for comment; and even now, although his return to Cabul is announced as imminent, many people will decline to believe the statement until it has come to pass. The causes of this long absence from the capital are not easily discovered. Turkestan has been effectually pacified for nearly two years, and there are no signs of any fresh gathering in support of Ishak Khan. Twelve months ago Abdurrahman had succeeded in convincing the people of Turkestan that they had nothing to gain by defying his authority or accepting another ruler. Yet the Ameer remained north of the Hindoo Koosh. It is difficult, or rather impossible, to assign a cause for this prolonged absence. If we think of private and personal motives, we are at once faced by the fact that at Cabul the Ameer would enjoy a better climate and superior luxuries to what he would at Mazar-i-Sherif. If of motives of high policy, neither the condition of Turkestan nor the ulterior plans of the Ameer will explain his protracted residence near the Oxus. He cannot hope to derive anything like as large a revenue from the districts beyond the Hindoo Koosh as from Cabul and Candahar, not to speak of Herat. Nor has he made it the base, as it was at one time thought he would do, for extending his authority in the direction of the Pamir or into Kafiristan. At the same time, he has incurred a very sensible risk south of the Hindoo Koosh, for the absence of disturbance must be largely attributed to the unexpected ability and governing qualities displayed by his son Habibullah, who has been entrusted with the command at Cabul.

If there have been no ill consequences from the Ameer's absence, the cause of his absence remains none the less inscrutable. We are almost constrained to think that it must in some way or other be connected with his feelings towards the Government of India. It will be recollected

that his departure for Turkestan in 1888 was the alleged cause of the abandonment of the Durand Mission; but there were at the time rumours that the withdrawal was due to some expressions of dissatisfaction on the part of Abdurrahman with his subsidy. Confirmation has been lent them by much that has happened since, and the Russians have ventilated several theories of their own about the matter. According to them, the Ameer not merely thinks he ought to be better paid, but is also dissatisfied with the nature of the guarantee we have given him against Russian aggression. If their information is correct, the guarantee we have given is one that leaves our hands free if Russia could allege some contributory act of lawlessness on the part of the frontier tribes before she made any forward movement. The more we are disposed to think that Abdurrahman is a strong man, the more intelligible does it become that he would object to an arrangement full of qualifications, and that deprived him to a great extent of liberty of action. Discontent under such circumstances would be intelligible, as our advice could hardly be considered either disinterested or agreeable; and if Abdurrahman be for the moment somewhat disposed to adopt a huffy attitude, we should treat him leniently and make allowances for his position. It is of course most satisfactory to learn that Habibullah is likely to perpetuate the dynasty in a creditable manner; but we must in fairness recollect that it is entirely due to Abdurrahman that there is a dynasty in Afghanistan to be perpetuated at all. If, therefore, he is dissatisfied with the amount of his subsidy, his demands should be carefully considered, and, if possible, conceded.

As commercial considerations must play a large part in deciding our future policy in Afghanistan, great efforts should be made to obtain from the Ameer, in return for our increased support, concessions on three points, viz., facilities for our traders; improved postal and telegraphic services; and finally, the right to lay down railways within

Afghan territory. All these things would be well worth paying for. The commercial energy of the Russians shown on the Oxus, which will increase as their railway system is extended and when the flotilla on that river has been increased, must inevitably compel us to take counter-steps on our side to secure a proper share of the trade of Afghanistan and to maintain our influence among the people. The latest returns of the Trans-Caspian railway traffic show that it is rapidly increasing; and as the Afghans of Turkestan seem to be alive to the advantages of trade with Russia, we must expect a large development in the intercourse between the two neighbours. We cannot close our eyes to the prospect that this will much increase the chances of the province of Turkestan being detached at some future period from the rest of Afghanistan. But this possibility, far from making it less necessary for us to be active and assert ourselves south of the Hindoo Koosh, renders it more incumbent upon us to be up and doing. The Ameer has throughout our dealings with him shown himself to be a man of much good sense and clearness of vision. However greatly he may dislike to see railways enter his dominions, he cannot help recognising that it is inevitable sooner or later; and if it can be proved to him that their introduction will conduce directly or indirectly to his own benefit, he might be less disposed to oppose their entry into southern Afghanistan. At the least the effort should be made, and we hope that the Ameer's speedy return to Cabul will allay all natural suspicion, and result in placing our relations with him once more on a footing of cordiality and confidence. To ensure this result will be a creditable achievement for Indian diplomacy.

The affairs of Persia, and her relations with her neighbours, seem to have settled down on a peaceful and satisfactory basis. Whatever designs Russia may have in Armenia, or further east on the Oxus, she does not seem to have any hostile intentions with regard to the

Shah. It is true that some irritation is felt at Ashkabad on account of the delay in the completion of the Persian part of the road from that place to Koushan; but this displeasure is not sufficiently great to produce any serious consequences. Another circumstance contributing to the stability of the position in Persia is, that it is no longer as essential to Russia in her plans in Afghanistan and the direction of India as it used to be. The railway to Merv and Samarcand has provided an excellent means of communication along the southern boundary of Russia's dominions in Asia; and when branches have been constructed to Penjdeh and Kerki, Russia will have the very best means of conveying merchandise and troops up and into Afghan territory without having to make use of the good offices or assistance of Persia. This change in the political conditions of Western Asia affords us an excellent opportunity of ensuring the material development of Persia, towards which a commencement has been made by the establishment of the Imperial Bank of Persia and of a company to work the mines of that kingdom. It is much to be hoped that the directors of both those institutions will not be apathetic in their measures or allow the grass to grow under their feet. They have a great opportunity of benefiting national interests at the same time that they secure good dividends for themselves; but they must recollect that some fresh turn in the political situation might induce Russia to again concentrate her interest and attention on Persia. The present favourable opportunity should be turned to the best possible account, as the development of Persia is not a matter about which we can safely allow ourselves to be dilatory.

Our belief in the security of Persia, and in the disinclination of Russia to take any serious measures against her, is increased rather than diminished by the probability that the Russian Government is bent on taking some steps in Armenia to extend her frontiers in that direction. Whether she will do this by inciting the Armenians to

revolt, or by alleging that the Kurd atrocities render it impossible for her to withhold protection from fellow-Christians, or merely by declaring that Turkey's non-payment of the war indemnity obliged her to adopt retaliatory measures, may be still doubtful. But a Russian advance on Erzeroum has again become extremely probable; and as it could be accomplished without the world being enlightened until it had been done, the British public may expect an unpleasant surprise some morning at their breakfast-tables. The question need not be discussed now whether England would make such a move a *casus belli*. Much, of course, would depend on the manner in which Russia took this step, and we may be sure that she would do everything in her power to propitiate that side of English public opinion which is directed by Mr. Gladstone, and which is prone to believe that only the Turks can commit atrocities. But the extreme importance of the step in its consequences cannot be obscure to any one who has followed with any degree of care the successive advances by which Russia extended her dominion from the Caucasus to Kars. With Erzeroum in her possession, Russia would not be long before she planted her standards at Van, whence she would threaten Diarbekir on the one side and Bagdad on the other. Under those circumstances, the defence of Asiatic Turkey would become extremely difficult and hazardous, and even our position in Egypt would be more or less directly menaced. For these reasons our Government should keep an attentive eye on events in Armenia, and the Porte cannot be too active in preparing for all contingencies in this quarter at the same time that she does everything she can to allay the excitement prevalent among the Armenian population.

If we turn from the western to the eastern divisions of Asia, we find everything in a more tranquil condition. There are frontier and commercial matters to settle between us and China, and also with Siam; but there is no political cloud on the horizon. The pacification of

Burmah continues slowly but surely, and the growth of the revenue will be largely helped by the construction of the lines of railway that have received official sanction, and of others for which necessity can be shown. As France is determined to make the most of her opportunities of trading in Indo-China through the Shan state of Luang Prabang, and also by the construction of a railway to the Yunnan frontier, we ought to be prepared for a keen contest of interest in this quarter. There may be reasons for waiting on the convenience of China in the negotiations relating to our common frontiers, but there can be none with regard to the extension of our authority over the Shan states, and to our fixing our eastern limits as far beyond the Salwen as we possibly can. Unless we act in good time, the French will acquire pretensions which, while they cannot greatly benefit themselves, will much embarrass us, and it would be strange, and at the same time unpleasant, if France, by superior *savoir faire* and a closer regard for the value of time, were to succeed in turning Indo-China into an Asiatic Egypt.

The Russian expedition to Tibet under Colonel Pevtsoff has now entered upon the final and most trying stage of its journey. The present summer will decide whether it is to succeed or not in the attempt it is making to enter the country of the Lamas. Having wintered at Nia, the expedition left that place on the final stage of its journey two months ago, and probably by this time it has either entered Tibet or been turned back by the frontier guards of the Lhasa authorities. Whatever may be the fate of the expedition, we cannot doubt that it has added considerably to the reputation of Russia in Eastern Turkestan, and its success would unquestionably impel the Russians to adopt a more vigorous policy in regard to Kashgaria. We may entertain a perfect admiration for the fortitude of Colonel Pevtsoff and his comrades, and at the same time express the opinion that his repulse will tend more to the tranquillity of Central Asia than his

success. There is some satisfaction in feeling that China is not less interested than we are in the failure of the Russian expedition. Having satisfactorily closed Tibet to our inquiries, China can have nothing to gain or expect from its being opened by Russian enterprise.

Among the distinguished persons who have died during the quarter that has just ended, is one whose name will be specially familiar to the readers of this Review. We refer to the Marquis Tseng, the Chinese statesman, whose article on "China, the Sleep and the Awakening," in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1887, caused no inconsiderable sensation. There can be no doubt that the somewhat limited list of Asiatic statesmen has lost a notable member, and that a most promising career has been cut short to the great disadvantage of his own country and her friends. Although the Marquis Tseng did not attain the exceptional influence and position of Li Hung Chang, his experience of Europe gave him an unique position among the high members of the Chinese Government, and his powerful connections and historic name would have simplified his attaining supreme power as Li Hung Chang's successor. The Marquis Tseng was a singularly amiable, as well as able man. He produced the most favourable impression on all who were brought in contact with him in England, and outside his own country there is no place where his loss will be better appreciated than here. Unless the Viceroy Li'sson realizes the expectations formed of him, it will be many years before China will command the services of a native minister possessing an equal knowledge of European politics to that acquired by the Marquis Tseng.

REVIEWS.

Sir Cowasjee Jehanghier.

MR. J. COWASJEE JEHANGHIER has prepared this biography of his distinguished father, Sir Cowasjee Jehanghier Ready-money, the well-known Parsee merchant and benefactor, partly through "a feeling of filial duty and affection," but also from "the wish to preserve the memory of his good deeds among those who have benefited by them." The biography is a very interesting one, and Mr. Jehanghier has evidently spared no expense in placing it in a most attractive form before the English reader. The engravings and the steel plate of Sir Cowasjee will enlist the sympathy of the general reader, and familiarize him with some of the most interesting memorials in Western India. The name of Sir Cowasjee, who was styled in his lifetime an Indian Peabody, was closely associated with all the most brilliant philanthropic acts of a generation ago—acts which made the small Parsee community of Bombay famous throughout the world. It appears that Sir Cowasjee distributed during his life fifteen lakhs in public charity, and about three in private. This very large sum was expended with rare discrimination, and those who read the long list of his benefactions will come to the conclusion that he seldom bestowed his support on an unworthy object. As a consequence the institutions that he subsidized have flourished, and his name has been perpetuated in connection with universities, hospitals, and drinking-fountains, that confer durable benefit on his fellow-countrymen. Over and above his philanthropic deeds, Sir Cowasjee was by his character a remarkable man. Every one who reads this narrative will recognise that he thought carefully over all the schemes placed before

him prior to supporting them, that he came to a decision on lines of his own, and that when the need arose for action he could act promptly, and with exceptional vigour. Mr. Jehanghier may be congratulated on having produced a very remarkable book about a truly remarkable man.

The Central Asian Railway.

MR. GEORGE DOBSON, the *Times* correspondent at St. Petersburg, has collected in this volume the letters which he contributed in 1888 to that paper on the Central Asian Railway. ("Russia's Railway Advance into Central Asia. Notes of a journey from St. Petersburg to Samarkand." By George Dobson. Illustrated. London: W. H. Allen & Co.) He has undoubtedly compiled not only the first, but also the best and most complete account of General Annenkoff's great undertaking that we are ever likely to possess, and he has thus made a permanent and valuable addition to the library of Central Asian literature. The volume contains much fresh and unpublished matter, seven of the fifteen chapters being entirely new. Mr. Dobson has also brought the account of the Trans-Caspian provinces down to the present time. His declaration of political faith is made in the following passages, which are marked by the self-restraint and caution commendable in a special correspondent:—"I should feel sorry if Russian friends attributed anything I may have written to malice or Russophobia. My attachment to their country, and the rule of impartiality which I have always endeavoured to apply to my journalistic duties, ought to be sufficient proof against any such assumption. It would be equally unjust if English readers concluded, from my residence in Russia, that I have become in the least indifferent to the danger involved in Russia's railway advance into Central Asia." Mr. Dobson is evidently of opinion that the Central Asian Railway has revolutionized the position on the frontiers of Afghanistan in favour of Russia, nor has he much faith

in the durability of the present frontier as delimited by the Joint Commission, unless the English Government is resolved to uphold it by force of arms. This is the opinion of every intelligent person who has made a study of the Central Asian question. Mr. Dobson's work is one that should be read carefully, and kept permanently for purposes of reference.

The India Office Records.

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD was the very first writer to interest the general reader in the records at the India Office, and his Report on the old Records, published twelve years ago, was not only the first attempt to indicate and catalogue the contents of those invaluable historical documents, but it also remains one of the most graphic works produced on the subject of which it treats. It is not surprising, therefore, that a second edition should have been considered necessary at the present moment, seeing how much more attention, owing to the labours of Mr. Danvers and others, is paid to these sources of information than was the case in 1878. Sir George Birdwood has added considerably to the original size and value of his Report by making further extracts from the records, and among the most noteworthy of them is an account, hitherto unknown, of the first English expedition to Bombay forty years before that place passed into our hands as the dowry Catherine of Braganza brought Charles the Second. The learned editor displays his erudition in tracing the history of the arms borne in different phases of their existence by the East India Company and the other associations that traded with the Indies, and also of the offices which formed their headquarters in London. But of all the curious bits of information picked up in odd corners that on page 55, giving an account of the grades of service in the Dutch East India Company, and showing how closely our own Service was based on that model, is perhaps the most curious. One of these designa-

tions, that of Commodore, was in use among the messengers of the India Office down almost to our own time, and one who held this title is still employed at Whitehall. What is perhaps more curious is to learn that "under the Company the Superintendent of 'the Maids' of the India Office bore the title of Commodoreess." These references will show how varied are the contents of Sir George Birdwood's Report on the Old Records.

Japan and the Pacific.

ALTHOUGH the principal title of this work is "Japan and the Pacific" (T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square), the subsidiary title of "A Japanese View of the Eastern Question" is the more appropriate. Mr. Manjiro Inagaki dedicates his volume to the brilliant historical author, Professor Seeley, and, in imitation of his example, proceeds to take a general view of European and Asiatic politics. The volume is divided into ten chapters, of which only the first relates to the Pacific. Mr. Inagaki is clearly cognisant of the importance to the maritime Powers of both Formosa and Loo Choo, and he inclines to the opinion that China will never effectually conquer and colonize the former. With regard to the position in the Pacific, he says that England and Russia will at some future period fight for supremacy therein, and he somewhat oracularly declares that "Japan lies between the future combatants." Perhaps he is rather too much disposed, like most of his countrymen, to assign a leading part in that Titanic struggle, whenever it arrives, to Japan, and to place China in the background; but views that are inspired by patriotism need not be too closely criticised. We almost wish that Mr. Inagaki had confined himself to the subject on which his views and information would have obtained a respectful hearing, and proved instructive. He would thus have spared us some unprofitable reading about general *policy* in Europe from the beginning of the 16th century. Not that the views expressed by Mr.

Inagaki are inaccurate, or couched in language unworthy of the magnitude of the subject, but simply because they are more interesting to Japanese than English readers. As the essay of a Japanese scholar to instruct his fellow-countrymen, they are worthy of attention at Tokio; but in London they will scarcely attract as much notice as the latest prize essay at the Universities. We hope Mr. Inagaki will take these remarks in good part, and in his next literary effort confine his attention to those questions in which his country is distinctly concerned.

The India Office List.

"THE India Office List" (Harrison & Sons) is a work of great practical utility, produced on similar lines to the "Foreign Office List," and compiled from official records by direction of the Secretary of State. Its principal feature is an account of the services of the officers in the Indian Service, including under that head both those who serve in the East and at Westminster. For purposes of reference nothing could be better, although the facts given rarely go beyond the official appointments of each individual. The lists, giving the names of the holders of all the principal offices in the government of India from our first appearance in the country, are specially useful, and not to be found elsewhere without much trouble and research. We may note that the Registrar and Superintendent of Records states that he will be glad to receive early intimation of errors or omissions for correction or addition in future editions.

The Bagh o Bahar.

MISS EDITH PARRY has collected the stories of the "Bagh o Bahar," and thus compiled a very interesting volume (W. H. Allen & Co.), which will give the English reader a pleasing impression of the lighter form of Oriental litera-

ture. We may compliment Miss Parry on her having turned her scholarly attainments in a direction likely to popularize Asiatic reading with the English public.

Arabic Readers.

MR. F. F. ARBUTHNOT has prepared a very useful book for students in his "Arabic Authors, a Manual of Arabian History and Literature" (William Heinemann). It will much facilitate the study of Arabic, and it may also induce many fresh scholars to take up the study of one of the most useful and most attractive languages of the East.

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THE IDEA OF A GREATER GERMANY.

THE growth of popular enthusiasms, at all times a curious and instructive study, acquires a special interest when we see a nation beginning, as Germany is beginning now, to enter upon a new sphere of activity, and to undertake tasks for which it has not hitherto been supposed to possess any particular aptitude. The suggestion that the German nation has no particular aptitude for colonial enterprise will of course be called in question. Those students of history who have laboured to find appropriate precedents for the colonial agitation will point to the maritime schemes of the Great Elector and to the attempt, frustrated we believe by Colbert, of a certain Prince of Hainau to found a Teutonic Kingdom in the country which is now French Guiana. Students of history, perhaps, need not be taken too seriously when they adventure themselves on the troubled waters of international politics. Nor do the failures of two centuries back of themselves go far to warrant a sanguine outlook for the undertakings of to-day. Another and more effective line of argument is open to the less erudite Teuton who wishes to vindicate the colonizing capacity of his countrymen. He may appeal to the statistics of emigration from Germany, and may urge that people who so readily

find their way to foreign countries must needs possess the qualities requisite to create a colonial empire.

The claim, so freely put forward by Germans, to be a great, if not the greatest, emigrating nation is no doubt borne out by abundant facts. During the ten years 1871-80 the average annual number of emigrants leaving Germany is stated by the "*Almanach de Gotha*" to have been 130,000, or rather more than 20 per cent. of the excess of births over deaths. The same authority gives the total emigration from Germany to the United States, during the five years 1882-86, as 666,421, while the United States returns of German immigration for the same years come to 833,938. For the ten years 1880-89 the United States Bureau of Statistics puts the total of German immigrants at 1,435,181, and at the beginning of this period the Census of 1880 shows that there were then residing in the States nearly two millions of Germans, and no less than 4,720,735 persons of whom one or other parent was a native of Germany. The discrepancies between some of these figures need not be discussed here. We are concerned only with the broad fact that from Germany to the United States there sets regularly a strong and increasing stream of emigration which absorbs nearly a quarter of the normal increase of population. To the nation in arms this loss of possible fighting material can hardly be a matter of indifference.

We may reserve for future consideration the question whether the undeniable turn for emigration which these figures bring out necessarily implies any talent for the peculiar form of colonial enterprise to which alone the German possessions in Africa and Polynesia appear to lend themselves. The point to be noticed at present, is the complaint so often made by Germans themselves, that upon most of these emigrants to the New World their German citizenship seems to sit so lightly that no sooner have they landed in America than they hasten to shuffle off the ties which bind them to the Fatherland by enrolling themselves as members of the Great Republic. It is difficult not to

believe that this tendency on the part of the average German emigrant to denationalize himself must have done much to stimulate in Germany the desire for colonies where the settlers should not lose their national identity, where they should continue to be Germans instead of becoming Americans or Canadians. The literature of the colonial question is on this point naturally not very outspoken. But the sight of so many sturdy labourers and skilled artisans going year after year to swell the ranks of commercial rivals could not fail to touch the heart of every patriotic German, proud of the marvellous growth of the new Empire and full of the grand, if somewhat vague, ideas to which the triumphs of 1870 gave birth. To arrest by any means this drain on the resources of the nation, to reconcile the interests of the individual, struggling to better his own lot, with the larger fortunes of a people which feels that it may at any moment be called upon to fight for its collective existence, must have been an object ever present to the mind of the zealous and energetic minority by whose efforts the colonial movement has been galvanized into life.

So far indeed as the outward and visible signs of popular enthusiasm are concerned, the promoters of the "colonial idea" may fairly claim to have scored a remarkable success. They have brought effective pressure to bear not only on the Government but even on the commercial circles of Germany, and they have certainly managed to educate public opinion up to a high standard of proficiency in an out-of-the-way and not very attractive subject.

To an Indian official, accustomed in England to encounter almost everywhere the blindest and most contented ignorance on the subject of our own Asiatic possessions, nothing is more surprising than the interest the educated German takes in the prospects of the tropical acquisitions of the Fatherland, and the familiarity he displays with the details of their history and geography. At those ceremonial German dinner-parties which begin at five in the afternoon and last till midnight, where the liquors

are so terribly mixed and the sexes so curiously separated, no subject of conversation is more popular than the *Kolonial-frage*. Nor is it only the more sensational incidents—the adventures of Dr. Peters, the race for Emin Pasha, the latest flag-hoisting, or the skirmishes with Bouschiri,—that are discussed on these occasions. German people appear to have a craving for general information to which the English are strangers. No well-appointed household is deemed complete without a huge Cyclopædia, admirably edited, issued (unlike the *Cyclopædia Britannica*) at short intervals and kept up to date by yearly supplements. Thanks to this invaluable work, and also in some measure to the highly didactic character of the daily newspapers, the people one meets at dinner in Germany are often better posted in the commercial statistics of East Africa than most Englishmen in the trade of their own country.

The landed aristocracy, the civil officials, and the more cultivated and pushing among the military men, seem to be the classes most keenly interested in the question, and they are the chief supporters of the Colonial Society (*Kolonial Gesellschaft*), which has branches in most of the chief towns and publishes a well-informed and well-managed journal devoted to colonial matters. But active sympathy with the movement is by no means confined to the upper classes. Large numbers of shopkeepers and artisans attend the public lectures organized by the Colonial Society; and I have seen crowded audiences, comprising a fair proportion of members of the middle and lower classes, listen with every semblance of interest to the dreariest discourses on New Guinea, the Cameroons, Togoland, and other little known and less developed corners of the earth. Even the toyshops and the tobacconists have joined themselves to the popular cult. Colonial cigars are everywhere offered for sale, and colonial enthusiasts are supposed to smoke them; while in the toyshop windows last Christmas the traditional tin soldier had ceded the place of honour to a host of tin sailors in white uniform, and delightful negroes in yellow

breech-clouts who draw their bows kneeling on one knee in the strictest regulation attitude, as defined in the Prussian drill-book.

One naturally asks, What does all this mean? Are these people really in earnest? Do they understand what they are driving at, and have they counted the cost? What tangible fruit do they expect the "Colonial Idea" to bear for Germany, and how far are their expectations likely to be realized? We shall endeavour to find some answer, however tentative and imperfect, to these questions.

In the first place it is clear, from recent utterances on the vexed question of the Anglo-German agreement, that a substantial section of the German nation is far more in earnest about colonial policy than people in England have hitherto been inclined to believe. The turn given to that policy by the Agreement has been made the basis of a vicious attack upon the Caprivi Cabinet, and upon the general idea of developing friendly relations between England and Germany. No pains has been spared to embitter the controversy by enlisting irrelevant animosities on the side of colonial Chauvinism; and the *jeunes premiers* of the extreme party have not scrupled to preach the doctrine that a war with England would have been a light price to pay for a somewhat larger slice of unexplored Africa than the recent settlement has given them. All this, we may be told, is only a sort of political wild oats, which need not engage our serious attention, and which the sowers themselves will be the first to repent of. But national self-consciousness is a sensitive and unaccountable factor in international politics; and pioneers of new undertakings, whether German or English, are queer cattle for any Government to drive. The position, at any rate, is a sufficiently delicate one to make it worth our while to examine more fully the relations of the chief parties in Germany to the colonial movement.

The colonial movement, as is generally known, was started and developed by, or with the countenance of, the so-called *Kartell* party,—the coalition of Conservatives and

National Liberals,—which until the recent elections had a majority in the Reichstag. Within the Kartell party we may, I think, trace two distinct schools of opinion on the colonial question. One a moderate school, which recognises the great uncertainty in which the whole matter is involved, and is anxious to utilize the experience of other nations, especially the experience which England has gained in the administration of her tropical dependencies. The other is the extreme school of the *Kolonial-menschen*, as they are called in Germany, among whom the irrepressible Dr. Peters plays the part of *enfant terrible*. The views of this party are pronounced and *schwärmerisch*; and owing to their activity in propagandism and to the aggressive form their preachings assume, there is danger lest Englishmen should either treat them, by reason of their sound and fury, as a *quantité négligeable*, or should fall into the opposite, and perhaps more serious, error of assuming that they represent the real opinions of the nation at large.

Whatever sins may be laid to the charge of the extreme men, a want of frankness in expressing their opinions is assuredly not one of them. No sense of international courtesy has deterred them from speaking their mind about England. The literature of colonialism, of whose intolerable bulk some one (I think General von Caprivi) complained not long ago in the Reichstag, would furnish examples of every form of attack upon ourselves that human ingenuity could devise. In searching for sticks wherewith to beat the Anglo-Saxon adventurer, the colonial enthusiasts have sometimes wandered into strange company, and have avowed community of sympathy and interest with the Boers, the Portuguese, and even with the down-trodden Hindu. If Surendranath Banerji only knew it, what a field for declamation were here! Happily for us, we need not now rummage among the ruins of these extinct volcanoes. The Anglo-German agreement has passed a sponge over the controversies of the last few years, and we need only look to the judgment of the extreme school on that

settlement in order to form an idea of what we have to expect at their hands.

Three champions have come forward in the *Grenzboten* to lead a kind of forlorn hope against the policy of General von Caprivi. Their triple attack seems to represent the three main components of the colonial party—the explorers, the military men, and the students. Each takes his own line, and each handles his aspect of the subject with characteristic thoroughness. The historical critic ransacks the history of the last two hundred years for proofs of the “cold-blooded selfishness” which England has displayed whenever she has been the professed ally of Germany. He shows how she concluded the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 without troubling herself to procure the restitution of Strasburg; how through the personal union with Hanover she exercised an unfavourable influence on the affairs of Germany; how she failed to support Frederick William I. of Prussia in his claims on Jülich-Berg; how in 1731 the commercial jealousy of England brought about the dissolution of the Belgian East Indian Trading Company at Ostend; and how after embarrassing Frederick the Great in the Seven Years War by withdrawing her subsidies, she nevertheless managed to secure for herself Canada, and to lay the foundation of her Indian Empire. Passing to more modern times, the reader is called upon to observe “how in 1813 the Prussian statesmen and generals had to haggle and bargain for every penny of English contributions, and how dearly Prussia paid in the end for this niggardly support. Acting in the Guelf-English interest, she gave up for fifty years loyal East Friesland, and therewith her strong position on the North Sea, only to find after all that on the 3rd January, 1815, England allied herself with France and Austria, in order to oppose the plans of Russia and Prussia in Saxony and Poland. What was the result? For us, the German confederation, the most pitiful constitution that was ever imposed upon a great and victorious people, and the division of Prussia into two separate blocks of territory,

between which an enlarged and envious Hanover shoved herself in as a thorn in the flesh of the Prussian State—for them, the consolidation of the overwhelming marine and colonial supremacy of England.” Not content with large deductions of this sort, the writer condescends to rake up such minor incidents as a slighting reference of Lord Palmerston’s to the Prussian marine ensign, and the cheers with which the report of a disaster to the Prussian and Austrian fleet near Heligoland in 1864 is said to have been received in the House of Commons. As if a popular assembly at a time of great excitement could be expected to maintain that high standard of urbanity in international matters of which our critic furnishes so conspicuous an example! One can only say, *Oblivisse hæc omnia salus esset adolescentulis*, especially when these sorry relics of the past are turned to point the unedifying moral that England and Germany are commercial rivals, and between them no enduring friendship can ever be possible.

The historical critic having proved that to English selfishness are due all the misfortunes of Germany from Ryswick to Jena, we are prepared to be taught by the political critic (who by the way takes occasion to cast doubts on the existence of diplomacy in Germany) that “the exchange of Heligoland for East Africa is a humiliation,” and that an alliance with England can have neither moral nor actual value for Germany. It can have no moral value, because English policy is based upon principles of mercantile greed; it can have no actual value, because under the conditions of modern warfare England is not in a position to give Germany any substantial assistance. Finally the writer breaks into a curious invective against the “hollowness and want of character” which leads “the highest classes in Germany to pride themselves, in spite of all their patriotism, on seeming as English as possible, on dressing in English fashion, and adopting English furniture; they go so far as to speak and write English to their children and relations; they think it good form (*chic*) to put on the

abrupt and inconsiderate English manner, even towards their own countrymen," and throws out the remarkable conjecture that this Anglomania has played a part in bringing about the recent agreement. The echoes of a painful controversy seem to hang about this singular outburst, but it would lead us too far from our subject to attempt to read between the lines.

Let us return from our digression into history and politics to the colonial question proper. Here it is right to remark that the writer of the third or colonial section of this triple protest against the action of the German Government, though a zealous advocate of his own point of view, seems to be more conversant with facts and altogether more reasonable in tone than his political and historical coadjutors. He has many grievances to ventilate, but he brings them forward in a temperate fashion, and does not lose himself in irrelevant abuse. His points are the following :—

(a) The eastern boundary of German South-East Africa, hitherto left undefined and therefore capable of further extension, has now been defined, to the disadvantage of Germany, so as to preclude the possibility of taking in the country round Lake Ngami.

(b) Walfisch Bay, which has only an imaginary value for England, has not been ceded to Germany.

(c) The line drawn from the German frontier on Lake Nyassa to the S.E. corner of Lake Tanganika gives England the entire southern shore of the lake; and excludes from the German sphere of interest the country (comprising Lake Bangweolo) between Lake Nyassa and the Congo State, which some map-makers had already shown as German.

(d) The delimitation of the northern boundary of German East Africa frustrates the German hopes of gaining possession of Uganda, Unyoro, and the region of the Upper Nile.

(e) The cession of Wituland, which had recently been

taken over by the German East African Company, is regretted not merely for its own sake, but because it debars Germany from acquiring Somaliland, where flags had been hoisted and treaties made.

(f) The English Protectorate of Zanzibar is described as "a rude intimation on the part of the German Government of their wish that we should administer our colony from within its own boundaries. It is unfortunate that the traffic developed in ten years cannot transfer itself so quickly, and that new towns do not spring up so quickly in a half-savage country."

(g) The condition that no customs duties shall be levied on Lake Tanganika, or between the lake and the German north-west frontier, will probably tend to divert the trade of the German Protectorate to the cheaper water route in English hands, and will thus reduce the yield of the customs dues on the coast.

The English obtain from the transaction, continues the critic, "all that is left of unoccupied Africa. At the most we may perhaps later on secure a share in the Sudan from Cameroon. But in the main the agreement has set final bounds to our colonial undertakings, while it opens to the English the grandest prospects of new acquisitions. These prospects derive special importance from the fact that they will lead at no distant date to the amalgamation of the English districts into one huge Empire extending from the mouth of the Nile to the Cape. In the South the English have already the central strip from the Orange River to Tanganika, with a breadth as yet undetermined. Little Portugal can offer no effective resistance to their impetuous advance; even the valiant Transvaal will sooner or later fall to these vast designs, not indeed by the might of English weapons, but by the peaceful and far more dangerous agency of constantly growing English immigration. On the north of the Victoria Nyanza, British influence, favoured by England's commanding position in Egypt, will press on, in spite of decaying Mahdism, down the Nile;

while on the other side Uganda gives them the key to the wide and important territory of the Western Sudan."

We have endeavoured to set forth in the foregoing quotations the views of the fanatical partisans of the Colonial Idea in Germany. Let us now see how a member of the moderate school sketches the origin and development of the movement, and what manner of advice he gives his countrymen for the future. This critic, who writes as a man of affairs well acquainted with both African and European politics, traces the rise of the colonial enthusiasm to "the redundance of national self-consciousness" which followed upon the war of 1870. The desire of the next generation to emulate the achievements of their fathers led in 1884 a number of young men "who had just completed their education, or just entered the army as officers," to conceive the bold idea of acquiring for Germany the vacant portions of the continent of Africa. Their unexpected success in establishing German influence over large tracts of country enlisted the popular sympathies on their side, and by degrees first the commercial world of Germany, and then the Government itself, became insensibly and reluctantly involved in a movement which promised to satisfy the craving for emigration within the limits of the Empire.

But the commercial world was by no means eager to invest its capital in doubtful undertakings, "conducted by students fresh from the University, or by gallant second-lieutenants." Nor did the Government take a decided line. "Prince Bismarck had repeatedly declared that he was no enthusiast for colonization, and that the action of the Government must be restricted to backing up with its protection the trader and pioneer." In response to this declaration of policy, the German East African Company sought to establish plantations and stations in the interior, and to raise and export tropical products. But the cost of transport ran away with the profits; the acquisition of the coast strip from the Sultan of Zanzibar rendered a change

of system necessary, and "experience proved that more than one of the local officials, however brave a man and good patriot, was nevertheless an excessively bad accountant and financier." At this stage the natives rose in rebellion, and a clean sweep was made of all schemes for developing the country. Meanwhile the colonial enthusiasm in Germany had risen so high that even the Reichstag did not venture to abandon the Company, and a grant was made for the suppression of the revolt. An Imperial Commissioner was appointed, with full powers to restore law and order. "In our age of military discipline, in the model state of the European armed type, the recruiting drum was sounded in the ancient Landsknecht fashion, and numbers of young men flocked to the banner of a distinguished African traveller." The selection of Major von Wissman as Commissioner was amply justified, and peace was soon restored on the coast. But the position was felt to be an impossible one. "Under the nominal suzerainty of an African Sultan, a captain of the German army held independent command in the field, and the officials of a German Colonial Company governed the country, while the vessels of His Majesty the Emperor manœuvred in concert with English squadrons." Further inland the rival Emin Pasha expeditions were on the march; "the representatives of German and English Companies were outbidding each other in concluding dubious treaties with equally dubious chieftains; and the German people were growing more and more excited over the exploits of their African heroes, which they followed with all the interest with which children listen to stories of Columbus and Vasco da Gama."

The disagreements of English and Germans at the various points in Africa where they came in contact tended to produce friction between their Governments, and this in its turn deterred capital, "which in Germany has very delicate nerves," from seeking investment in Africa. Such a state of things, which not only kept Africa in turmoil, but

threatened to endanger the peace of Europe, could clearly not be permitted to continue. The German Government was forced to abandon the attitude of neutrality which it had hitherto sought to maintain on the colonial question, and the result of its intervention was the Anglo-German Agreement.

Dismissing as futile the inquiry whether German diplomacy might not have secured in the recent settlement a few thousand square miles more of unexplored territory, the writer calls earnestly upon the colonial party to abandon the petulant attitude they have assumed towards the Government, to convert enthusiasm into energy, and to show what they can do to develop the huge area of which they have now assured possession. He concludes a most effective paper, of which we have given a very imperfect sketch, by pointing out that German opinion is by no means unanimous as to the value of the colonial movement, and by warning the extreme party that the outburst of invective they have indulged in during the last few weeks will have tended to confirm and strengthen the opposition they must expect to meet with in the Reichstag.

In order to appreciate the significance of this warning, we may glance at the distribution of parties in the Reichstag as shown in the following statement :—

REICHSTAG OF 1890.

Kartell.	Conservatives, including four Anti-Semites	75	137.
	Free Conservatives	20	
	National Liberals	42	
Centre.	Centre, or Ultramontanes	107	145.
	Poles	16	
	Guelfs	12	
	Alsations	10	
Left.	Freisinnig, or Radical	69	115.
	Volks Partei, or South German Democrats	10	
	Social Democrats	35	
	Dane	1	

It would be perhaps going too far to lay down that all members of the Kartell group are thorough-going partisans

of the colonial idea ; but it may safely be assumed that any Government proposal having for its object the development of the colonies, will meet with the support of the parties which make up that group. With equal certainty we may conclude that to most of such proposals, the Left will offer a solid and vigorous opposition. The Social Democrats laugh at the colonial propaganda ; and a leading organ of the Radical press dismissed the Anglo-German Agreement with the cynical comment : " If only England had another islet about the size of Heligoland, for which we could barter the rest of our Colonial Empire ! " Considerable bitterness of feeling prevails between the Kartell parties—in particular the National Liberals—and the Radicals. That the Social Democrats, the men of the proletariat, should take the line they do, is felt to be more or less natural and intelligible. But that highly educated people, who ought to cast in their lot with the National Liberals, should venture, under the leadership of an ex-official, to run counter to the national ambition, should jeer at the colonial enthusiasm, and should incessantly cram the English parliamentary system, the English Budget arrangements, and the English colonial supremacy down the throats of their political opponents, is felt to be intolerable. One cannot help thinking that the spiteful outcry against England, which has been sounded by the National Liberal journals, owes some of its bitterness to this reiteration on the part of the Radical school. It may be added, reluctantly as we touch one of the sore spots of German social life, that the Jews of Germany are to a great extent supporters of the Radical party, while the so-called Anti-Semites, the fanatics of the *Juden-hetze*, who are striving to transform a prejudice into an article of political faith, seem inclined to range themselves on the side of colonialism.

But neither the Left nor the Kartell can alone command a majority of the Reichstag. Since the recent elections, the control of the political situation, so far as the Reichstag

is concerned, rests with the Centre, a compact group, admirably drilled and most astutely handled by Dr. Windthorst, sometime Minister of Justice for the Kingdom of Hanover, and now, as leader of the Guelphs and Ultramontanes, the most powerful independent politician in Germany. A party of opportunist tendencies, like the Centre, which desires to hold itself open to offers from either of the extreme camps, has naturally not gone out of its way to proclaim any settled doctrines on the colonial question. When I was in Berlin a few months ago, I had the honour of an interview with Dr. Windthorst, at which we discussed the prospect of the German colonies. He expressed himself as "somewhat sceptical" regarding any real good accruing to Germany from the movement, and he was evidently quite free from the delusion that the poorer emigrating classes, the artisan and the agricultural labourer, will find a suitable outlet for their energies in Eastern Africa. On the whole, he seemed inclined to accept as a *pis-aller* the view that Germany had gone too far to withdraw now, and that she must set to work to make the best of her recent acquisitions. It was clear at the same time that he had a keen perception of the financial aspects of the position, and we may be sure that all proposals for expenditure on colonial purposes will be carefully scrutinized in the Reichstag both by the Centre and by the Freisinnig parties.

The attitude of the Government towards the colonial movement was clearly defined in May last, by General Von Caprivi, in an admirable speech which hardly attracted in England the attention it deserved. In replying to the Radical Bamberger, the Chancellor was careful to do justice to the enthusiastic and romantic side of the question. He pointed out that the wars of 1866 and 1870 diverted the stream of "*idealism*, which is the life of the German people," from intellectual to practical aims, and that the colonial aspirations came in to supply the objective that was needed. The Radicals might call this romance, but

romance has its uses in politics, and has, indeed, contributed in no small measure to the existence of the German Reichstag itself. No doubt the grossest ignorance of African facts and African conditions had been displayed. People thought they "need only buy an atlas and paint Africa blue" in order to find themselves in possession of colonies where "you find gold in nuggets, and pick up cigars ready-made." But the era of flag-hoisting and treaty-making must make way for an era of practical development. Private capital will then be drawn in, and the colonies will be a possession worthy of the national enthusiasm. "Looking still further into the future," said the Chancellor, "I deem it not impossible that the development which the world is undergoing may compel Germany to enter into closer relations—it is hoped only peaceful relations—with trans-oceanic States. . . . The time when I had the honour to be Chief of the Admiralty has impressed upon me the belief that it should be an object with us to bring our navy into such a condition that it may be ready for action when this expansion of our circle of influence comes to pass. . . . We must then ourselves be in possession of some places at which German coals can be supplied to German ships of war by German officials. The possession of coaling stations is an essential condition of the navy's participation in a future war. Therefore, if at the present time we incur expenditure—and it is not considerable—on account of our colonies, I would not give up the hope that even this capital will not be unproductive, and that what we spend now will hereafter come back to us in increased measure."

Having answered, by this dip into the future, the Radical argument that colonies would be a source of embarrassment in a future war, General Von Caprivi proceeded to sketch the policy now to be adopted in dealing with East Africa. "If the Reichstag grants us further support, we shall make it our business to go forward step by step, to enter upon no hazardous undertakings, and to take measures

to restore the African Companies to the position they originally occupied, to render them as independent as they may be. I must here introduce the condition, that even this will depend on the administrative ability of the Companies, and that we cannot as yet foresee with certainty how far they will be equal to the task. The state of things in Africa is such, that under the *lex Wissmann*, a military force has been raised concerning which no one can say precisely whose force it is; and considering that the dictatorship and the state of war may still last for many years in East Africa, I think it not impossible that we may convert this force, raised in the old *landskeucht* fashion by Major Wissmann, into an Imperial force, so as to be able to effect more with small resources than is possible on the footing of contractual recruiting, on which things are at present. Our endeavour will be, in all quarters, to respect foreign rights, and to protect the German empire. I believe the Federal Government will be in a position to carry on their colonial policy in such a manner that the general policy of Europe will suffer no detriment, and that the justifiable expansion of German national sentiment will in no way be slighted."

It might seem a far-fetched comparison, a comparison scarcely fitting the dignity of *la haute politique*, were one to suggest that the situation created in Africa by the rivalry of four great Powers bears a sort of resemblance to the state of things brought about in the Indian tea districts some five-and-twenty years ago by the competition of the pioneers of a new industry. But the two things have really some remarkable points of likeness. In both, we see people grasping eagerly at unknown quantities of land, without stopping to take thought of the time, or to count the cost required to utilize them properly. In both, gross ignorance of essential facts and elementary conditions hurries on a financial crisis. In both, it might be added, some *deus ex machina*—a paternal Government, or a paternally minded conference of diplomatists—is constrained to intervene to

control the process of land-grabbing by limiting the area available, and requiring guarantees of ability to make a fitting use of the new acquisitions. Strange as the comparison may seem, no one who knows the prosperity of the Indian tea districts can say that it savours of hostility or evil omen. One could wish nothing better for East Africa, whether in German or in English hands, than that its development should rival that of Assam.

German colonial enterprise has now, it may be hoped, pretty well shaken off the maladies of its infancy. It has passed its period of *Sturm und Drang*, of flag-hoisting and dubious treaties; it will doubtless tide over the commercial difficulties which spring from inflated expectations. The romantic enthusiasm which has committed the nation to a new career must now endeavour to concentrate itself on the prosaic business of opening out an enormous area of comparatively unexplored country, under conditions of which Germans have hitherto had but little experience. General Von Caprivi's public utterances, and the impression of wide culture and practical wisdom which he makes upon those who come in contact with him, go far to warrant the belief that he, at any rate, is free from some of the standard delusions of the extreme colonial school, and, to repeat his own words, does not expect "to pick up cigars ready-made." But the special literature of the colonial question, the literature which proposes to instruct Germany on the subject, is by no means equally imbued with common sense. Some of the problems which present themselves at starting, are simply ignored; while for others, solutions of doubtful efficacy are put forward.

In the first place, the promoters of German colonialism appear to realize very imperfectly the true character of the climatic difficulties with which they have to contend. They have not grasped the elementary truth, that the phrase "tropical colony," in the mouth of a European, is simply a contradiction in terms. For Germans, at any rate, possessions situated in the tropics can never become colonies,

either in the classical or in the modern sense of the word. Without considering too curiously how "colony" should be defined, there can be no question that we mean by it a country where the ordinary European of the middle and lower classes can settle permanently, and can bring up his children as natives of his new home. Can settlements of this type be formed, or rather, can they form themselves—for that is the essence of colonization on a large scale—in East Africa? So far as one can see at present, the question has only to be asked to be answered with a decided negative. But the notion that *der kleine Mann*—the small farmer, the agricultural labourer, the handicraftsman, the artisan—who now emigrates to America, will, in future, flock to East Africa, stands in the forefront of the colonial programme. Only the other day a German missionary was lecturing to working men in Berlin on the career of usefulness and profit that awaited them in Africa. But men of this class cannot be separated from their families, and there is no reason to suppose that the climate of Africa is more favourable than the climate of India to the rearing of European children. If it is not, then Africa is no place for the great majority of German emigrants.

Explorers will of course reply, that this objection applies only to the strip of swampy country on the coast, and that the high lands of the interior possess a climate leaving little to be desired. That may be so; but before we accept the conclusion that even in these favoured regions European colonists can live and prosper, one or two things are to be kept in mind. The first is, that on a point of this sort, the testimony of travellers is not of very great value. Not only are they presumably less sensitive to climatic influences and more careful in their manner of life than the average settlers, but they rarely stay in a place long enough to find out the weak points of its climate. It is one thing to march through a country, and another to live there all the year round. Then it must be said, an explorer is not always the best judge of the value of his own discoveries; and the

idea of European colonization seems to have a special fascination for him. We have heard a good deal of dreams of this sort in India, and nothing but disappointment has come of them. The writings of the distinguished Orientalist, Mr. Brian Hodgson, are full of the fancy that the lower levels of the Eastern Himalaya were destined to become the home of large settlements of European agriculturists. The pioneers of Kumaou thought the same of the country further west; and only a year or so ago Sir Lepel Griffin started a similar notion about Cashmere. The fact is, that in order to make a tropical or sub-tropical region a fit place for European colonization on a large scale, at least three conditions must concur. First, the climate must be such as to admit, not merely of adult Europeans living in comfort themselves, but of successive generations growing up without deterioration of type. If the race degenerates it will assuredly die out. Secondly, the climate must allow Europeans to do their own field-work, if need be. Thirdly, it must be such as to exclude the competition of the native races; for if these races, whether African or Indian, are to compete with the European as labourers, their lower standard of living will enable them to drive him out of the field. A few Europeans may still make a living as employers of native labour; but real colonization there can be none.

Now the question is, whether the German tropical possessions, in Africa or elsewhere, comply with these conditions. If they do, there may be a chance of the expectations held out to the lower classes being to some extent realized. If they do not, the Government and the Companies will be wise to refrain from the attempt to promote artificially a form of immigration which can only give rise to those difficulties of which we have unfortunate experience in India with the lower class of Europeans and Eurasians. But then, it will be asked, if there is no room for *der kleine Mann*, of what use will the colonies be to the people of Germany? The answer is clear. They will

open a career to a certain number of the more enterprising cadets of the upper and middle classes, who will find employment in the service of Government or the Companies, in trade, and in the management of the various plantations, which will, in course of time, be opened out. That is something; that is one of the things which India does for England. But it is not what the enthusiasts of the colonial movement have encouraged the nation to look for, it is not colonization properly so called. It offers to the mass of the people, to the classes whose growing discontent is a source of justifiable anxiety to German politicians, no share whatever in the latest fruits of the national enterprise.

Another matter on which German colonial politicians appear to be somewhat at sea is the labour question. Every one admits that the new territories are sadly in want of labour, and that their development depends in great measure on the manner in which this problem is dealt with. Various suggestions have been put forward. A writer on New Guinea urges in the *Kolonial Zeitung* the importation of Malays, and, failing this resource, falls back upon the inevitable Chinese. The Malay country, however, already gets labour from India, and presumably has no superfluous population of its own; while the importation of Chinese into a new colony would hardly be a safe experiment. No one seems to have thought of Indian labourers, though colonial literature has not overlooked the existence of many Indian traders on the African littoral. On such a subject it would be rash to attempt to forecast the lines of future progress, but there seems to be at least a possibility that the surplus population of India may play a prominent part in the commercial and agricultural development of East Africa. With Zanzibar in English hands, and the English East African Company at work on the north of the German districts, what is more natural than that India, the great storehouse of unskilled labour in Western Asia, should be drawn upon for the opening out of these regions? Indian immigrants would not only be of use as workers on

plantations under European superintendence; they would be invaluable as independent cultivators of the standard tropical products. Their industry and thrift, their capacity for petty trade and their genius for village life would enable them to compete successfully with the Africans. Regular Indian settlements would spring up; and the stream of emigration from Bombay, once started, would probably flow steadily with the minimum of outside assistance. A beginning would perhaps have to be made in the form of emigration under contract such as goes on to the West Indies and elsewhere; and we may expect that the German Government will take steps to obtain the right of recruiting coolies in India on terms similar to those conceded to France and Holland. The mere fact of negotiations being set on foot for this purpose would tend to help the colonial movement in German commercial circles. It would show that the Government means business, and would do something to remove the reproach that German capital, as at present advised, "prefer the most dubious securities of the most dubious foreign State to investment in the colonies of the Empire."

But, in order to attract capital into the new territory, its administrative arrangements must be placed on a sound and permanent footing. At present the Government seems to have its hands very full. One of its chief difficulties is the want of men. In the Reichstag debate already referred to, the Radical speakers laid great stress on the English system of opening out new country by the agency of chartered Companies which cost nothing to the State. General von Caprivi replied that the German Government had every disposition to follow the same policy. "But," he added, "we are at present simply not in a position to adopt the English system, because we have no men competent to carry out that system on the spot. During the short time that I have been here, I have had occasion to learn how difficult it is, when a man is wanted for some comparatively subordinate work in one of our colonies, to

find any one who has the experience, without which he would be of no use locally."

By the side of this confession of the Chancellor's, we may set the admission of Count Pfeil in an article just published,* that the administration of the German colonies is of too bureaucratic a character, and fails to take account of local conditions and peculiarities. Now this is precisely what one would *prima facie* have been disposed to expect. German officialdom, with all its virtues, its strong sense of order, its devotion to duty, its admirable routine, its economy and its general executive efficiency, is by no means free from those vices of pedantry and doctrinairism which these virtues perhaps tend to generate. The juristic element is too strongly predominant, even among the men who have chosen the executive line, and there is a want of the flexibility and readiness of resource so essential in the administration of a semi-civilized dependency. Above all, one sees everywhere a disposition to lean too much upon the State and to suppose that the orders of Governments can shape the whole course of human affairs.

In illustration of what is meant, and as an example of the line of action which the extreme colonial enthusiast is capable of advocating, I may venture to conclude this paper with an experience of my own :—About a year ago I joined the German Kolonial-Gesellschaft in order to learn something of the colonial movement by attending meetings and talking to people. At a meeting of the Society in Berlin, in April last, a lieutenant who had served under Major von Wissman delivered a brief lecture on East Africa, in which *inter alia* he laid stress on the importance to the colony of encouraging the Indian merchants and traders already settled there, and of supporting them against their Arab rivals. The Indians, he said, were far more capable men of business than the Arabs, and were fast getting the financial control of East Africa into their own hands.

* *Grenzboten*, 4th September, 1890.

The lecture gave rise to a long and highly miscellaneous discussion. On the vexed question of communications between the coast and the interior of the country, Count Pfeil expressed the opinion (which he repeats in the article referred to above) that the time for railways has not come yet, and that the first thing to be done is to develop river transport, and to introduce the bullock carriages used in South Africa. His views were vigorously combated by Premier Lieutenant Weiss, another African traveller, who urged that a railway should be made at all costs, and that trade would spring up along the line. After a good deal of very fluent recrimination concerning the mistakes of the past and the chances of annexation that have been let slip, the debate at last got round to the Indian merchants. It was stated that there were two classes of Indians in Africa, comparatively large capitalists and small dealers, apparently of the *bepâri* type. Every one admitted that the colony could not get on without the small men; they kept trade going, and neither Europeans nor Arabs could compete with them. But, as regards the more wealthy Indians, a violent difference of opinion prevailed. One set of speakers held with the lecturer, that the Indian capitalists were, on the whole, good subjects, and should be supported against the Arabs. Another set, headed by Lieutenant Weiss and a civilian whose name I have forgotten, denounced them as traitors of the most insidious type, and urged that they should be summarily ejected from German territory. This surprising proposal was made in all seriousness, and was backed up by much dissertation on the knightly qualities of the Arab and the mean chicanery of the Indian money-lender. After several men had spoken on either side, I took courage to get up and inquire how they proposed to draw the line between the larger merchants who were to be ejected and the smaller merchants who were to be left in peace. Failing to get any answer to this, I went on to say that in India, for some years past, we had been trying with indifferent success to

work an income-tax so as to touch the mercantile classes ; that our chief difficulty was to find some means of distinguishing the various grades of incomes and making out who was to be treated as a big merchant, and who as a small one. If the East African officials could throw any light upon this point, the Government of India would doubtless be very grateful for the information. It happened that no one was ready with a reply to this argument ; the partisans of the lecturer claimed it as a victory for their views, and the subject was dropped. But no one seemed at all to realize the supreme absurdity of the whole discussion. Here is an infant colony struggling to develop its trade in the hope of some day paying its working expenses, and you find men of local experience gravely proposing to banish *en masse* the wealthiest and most capable traders for fear lest, in some unexplained fashion, they should intrigue against the Government which protects their shops and godowns from being looted ! If that is not the note of bureaucracy, I do not know what is.

H. H. RISLEY.

BERLIN, 13th Sept., 1890.

CHINA :

A SKETCH OF ITS SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
AND STATE ECONOMY.

To judge by the notions prevalent in the West, no country appears to be less known than China ; certainly no country is and has been so systematically and persistently misrepresented. Everything otherwise incredible and unnatural is at once believed, if ascribed to the Chinese and their manners. If one considers how far-spread are the errors on this subject, and how difficult it is to eradicate what is once implanted in the human mind, one cannot too strongly or too often insist on an examination of the true facts regarding our institutions, customs, and manners. Our civilization is real and mature, however much it may differ from that of the West. Though we may be a stationary people, we are not, on principle, enemies to progress. It is true that, at a time when barbarism was the prevailing condition of Europe, our civilization was, in the main, as brilliant and complete as it is now ; but this argues no aversion to progress on our part. With us, theories do not rank higher than experience. We do not confound mere change with improvement ; we hesitate to adopt innovations and to subvert our institutions merely to see what will come of it ; and we are averse to experimenting with the happiness and the lives of our millions. This is our sin in the eyes of Europe.

The character of Western civilization is essentially encroaching. In former times, hordes of barbarians overran our country, to pillage and to destroy ; they did not profess that they were conferring incalculable benefits on us. In

modern times, the civilized people of the West attempt the same thing, though they follow, perhaps, a slightly different method, in so far as they advance the pretension of establishing universal happiness. The two scourges of human communities are war, in its widest signification, and pauperism; does the Western world,—so vain of its spirit of innovation, so proud of its inventions,—stand as a shining example with respect to war and pauperism? and does it possess the secret of making nations peaceable, and increasing their happiness? It is to Europe that we owe the backward step of inaugurating large standing armies! *Ite, docete!* Having made these few preliminary remarks by way of reminding the reader that every question has two sides; and that, if we seem unreasonable in our distrust of Europeans, and in our steady opposition to their violent measures, from another standpoint we should appear still more unreasonable if we distrusted and opposed them less, I now pass on to give a brief sketch of Chinese social organization.

The whole Empire of the Centre must be regarded as one great family; political questions are closely linked to social questions, and do not arise from party views. The Emperor is considered, and considers himself, the father of this family, composed of more than 400 million members; and as such he does everything in his power to render happy the lot of his numerous children. All our sacred books insist on the necessity of a paternal Government, and make the well-being of the people its sole aim.

Confucius teaches that the perfection of ourselves, and the perfection of others, constitutes the true human ideal. The Emperor, in particular, is reminded of his duties on every page, and is exhorted to be continually engaged in their fulfilment.

These precepts, it will be seen, give a definite direction towards progress to the whole community.

The machinery of Government is constituted as follows: Next in importance and authority to the Emperor is the

"great Secretariat of the State," styled the "Council;" it directs all Governmental actions, and enforces the harmonious co-operation of all the sub-divisions; eight Ministries derive their authority directly from it. They are: the Ministries of "Personal Administration," "Finances," "Rites," "War," "Public Works," "Judicature," "Foreign Affairs," and "Navy." The organization of these Ministries requires comment; none of them are directed by one head alone, but there is a governing body in each, consisting of a council of two presidents and four vice-presidents, half of the council being Chinese and half Mongols, or Man-shu. This wise arrangement, carried through almost all grades, prevents any jealousy or strife for supremacy between the two races.

The "Ministry of Personal Administration" grants public appointments, choosing its officials from the literary class by instituting a system of examinations; it exercises a severe and absolute control over its officials, and supports the complaints of citizens against the Administration.

The "Ministry of Finance" is also the Ministry of Agriculture, as this is the chief source of revenue. This Ministry is in charge of the treasury, it keeps the public accounts, and pays the whole Governmental service.

The "Ministry of Rites" deals with the religious observances of the people, in so far as it maintains their temples and supervises public solemnities; the imperial "reserve-granaries" and benevolent institutions are under its charge. This Ministry also supervises and encourages public instruction, centralizes literary or scientific efforts, promulgates laws and enforces their observance.

The "Ministry of War" is in charge of all matters pertaining to the defence of the Empire and the security of the State.

The "Ministry of Public Works" controls and supervises works of a public character, such as canalization and the construction and maintenance of highways. The utmost deference, in these matters, is shown to local authorities, as

they are likely to know best what are their wants and must be the best judges of their own interests.

The "Ministry of Judicature" chiefly confines itself to matters of a criminal nature which the family council cannot punish. This is the only case of the State interfering judicially; in other matters the courts only act if directly appealed to and when a private settlement between the families is impossible; there are, happily, no barristers and solicitors, no juries, referees, and judges, strictly so-called; arbitration is the method employed to restore good feeling between the parties.

The "Ministry of Foreign Affairs" was formerly a subdivision of the "Ministry of Rites"; its existence as a separate body, under the name of "Tsong-li-Yamen," now dates from more than thirty years ago; its members are all connected with the other Ministries. In the diplomatic service, also, all the office-holders possess some grade in one of the Ministries.

The "Ministry of the Navy" was formed about four years ago, when the increase in our naval forces rendered this innovation necessary.

The administrative divisions of China consist of eighteen provinces ruled by viceroys, one hundred and eighty-two departments governed by prefects, and one thousand two hundred and ninety-three cantons, under the administration of sub-prefects. Besides these divisions there are the innumerable communities of which we shall speak further on. By a wisdom similar to that which established the half-Chinese and half-Manshu Ministries, the three religious systems of China each regard the Emperor as their special head and the representatives of the three creeds respectively are under the Emperor's immediate orders. As a consequence of this arrangement, Buddhists, Taoists, and disciples of Confucius have lived peacefully together for centuries. This rapid sketch of our institutions would be very incomplete if no mention were made of one of our most remarkable political organs—one which is, indeed,

unique in the world. I refer to the "Council of Censors," an institution far different from what that name or, "censorship," might suggest in Europe. The Tou-Tsha-Yang well deserves its name, which means "The Court Watchful over Everything." This court extends its surveillance even to the "Great Secretariat" and to the Emperor. Twelve special censors are charged every day with inspecting the head administrative offices. Several members lodge in the Imperial palace, and constantly accompany the Emperor on his voyages; they are ever ready with their counsel, and their criticism is often very severe. History affords numerous examples where even the fear of death could not influence the verdict of the Tou-Tsha-Yang, or shake its fidelity to its duty. Final appeals can always be made to this body; and, in this respect, it may be said to be above State jurisdiction. Misdemeanour of members is generally punished most severely by the "Vigilance Court" itself. All members are elected from Academicians; and the election is one of the highest honours that can be conferred on a Chinese savant.

Thus far we have treated of the "large" Chinese family, namely, the State; let us now turn to the family proper. Here, naturally, even more than in the case of the Government, filial piety is the basis of the institution. The head of the family has a nearly absolute power over its members; the autonomy of the individual is not recognised in China. The members of the family are not, however, in the Roman sense, "in potestate," or "in manu;" they all form one body, and the head of the family represents that body collectively. The acts of a constituent individual affect the whole family; the success he may achieve and the honours he may obtain extend even to his ancestors. If a criminal act is committed by a family member, even distant relations are condemned to bear a share of the punishment; for it was, in some measure, their duty to see that the delinquent was brought up in a proper manner; they should have used their influence, or at least prevented the act

by all means at their command ; not having done so, they are rightly punished for culpable negligence.

In the case of crimes of a particularly heinous character, —parricide for instance,—neighbours, local magistrates, and even whole villages are overwhelmed with disgrace, and suffer punishment of some kind. It is reasoned, that if the community had exercised sufficient salutary influence, or if its moral tone had been as it ought to have been, such a crime could not have happened in its midst. The effect of following this course is, to render every one interested in the moral welfare of his neighbour and fellow-citizen ; and a continuous force tending steadily to improvement is brought into play. Criminal statistics quite prove the theory ; as in Hankow, for instance, which, with the surrounding district, has a population of probably two million inhabitants, there is on the average only one case of murder in thirty-four years. The province of Tshili, with 25 million inhabitants, had the maximum of twelve executions in 1867 ; and it must not be forgotten that the capital of the Empire is in this province, and that the third repetition of theft is punished by death in China. An official is at once dismissed if a member of his family has committed a breach of the law. Consequently, it will be readily believed, that every official is exceedingly anxious to well regulate his family and to let it form a shining example of virtue to the people. According to Confucius, he only can govern a nation who knows how well to govern his family.

The responsibilities and obligations thus thrown on the families are balanced by rights in public administration. All questions regarding particular communities are settled by a majority of family representatives. These assemblies regulate the levying of the militia for the defence of their locality ; they oppose the nomination of magistrates and officials who are likely to act contrary to the interests of the community ; they cause the removal of obnoxious governors, and deliver congratulatory addresses to those who, in their estimation, are governing them well. In

very remote times absolute authority over the family was vested in the father, and in him alone; but at present the whole family sits in council over its affairs, and passes judgment on delinquent members. In the absence of the father, the mother presides in his stead.

We have here a picture of a small State—small States co-existing with the large one, the Empire; but the system is so arranged that no clashing of interests is possible; at the same time the “small State” has its well-defined rights and obligations. The task of governing thus becomes easy; and less than thirty thousand officials suffice to rule, in a most perfect manner, one-third of the world's inhabitants. The Government does not, as in the “free” countries of the West, encroach so tyrannically on the liberty of the people as to force on it its own special system of education; but instead, it institutes examinations for every Government appointment, and offers encouragement from time to time to study in a general sense. The head of every family has to keep a book in which its acts, the acts of the Government in relation to that family, and its degradations or honours are registered; in the same book the biographies of the ascendants are written. From this it is obvious that the head of the family must at least be able to read and write.

It has been mentioned before, that the honours acquired by the children are shared by the parents, and to some extent by the whole family; and it is therefore on their children that parents can found their hopes, and in them they expect to realize their ambitious dreams, educating them in the way indicated by their life's experience. In China every one is educated for the post he is intended to occupy, and his education may be said to be continued through the greatest part of his life. In the West, I believe, twenty years are set aside for instruction in what only profits a few. I have on a former occasion entered more fully into the subject of education, which from its importance would at least require an article for itself; the following quotation

from my book, "The Chinese Painted by Themselves," will however suffice to interest the reader in the subject, which, after all, is the only result that can be aimed at in a mere sketch :

"In education, our rules are of two kinds, those intended for children, and those for students. The rules defining the instruction of children are contained in one of the sixteen discourses of the Emperor Yong-Tching, called 'The Holy Edict' in which are found ideas that should animate the conduct of parents and masters in the direction of a child's intelligence.

"With what authority the Emperor counsels parents to accustom their children from an early age to take a serious view of things, to point out to them principles rather than circumstances, laws rather than facts, and to prepare their minds to acquire the precious quality of attention ! All the efforts of education during the earliest age should tend to cultivate the attention, and fight against bad habits. Among the latter the Emperor instances—'The habit of repeating with the lips, while the heart (mind) is fixed on something else.' He advises that children should be taught not to be too easily satisfied, but to ask questions, so that they may acquire the wish to know.

"Then the Emperor teaches parents what they should do to direct this education, to be obeyed by their children, and rule them wisely until the age when studies will begin to have an object.

"The first thought that should occupy a student's mind is this, 'To form a resolution.' It is admitted that when a resolution is firmly made, the desired end will be attained.

"I know no principle more efficacious than this, to make success in studies depend on the will alone joined to perseverance, such principles not only direct the efforts but prepare the character.

"The advice we are to follow possesses also great value from the point of view of study in itself, and I offer it to

the attention of all students who desire to attain success with certainty :—

“ To analyze the work done every day.

“ To repeat every ten or twenty days what has previously been acquired.

“ To begin study at five o'clock in the morning, and give as much attention to it as a general gives to the operations of his army.

“ Not upon any pretext to cease study for five or six days.

“ Not to fear being slow ; but only to fear stopping. And finally, one last warning :—

“ Time passes with the swiftness of an arrow ; a month is gone in a twinkling, another follows it, and presently the year is finished.”

To return to the Chinese family.

Marriage is indissoluble, and the people are monogamous ; this must be necessarily so when we consider, that, in the father's absence, the mother is the head of the family. The greatest misfortune that can happen to a man in China, is to be without progeny to carry on the family traditions, to keep alive the remembrance of the dead, and to pay honour to the memory of the illustrious and ever-to-be-revered ancestors. In the case of failure of heirs, monogamy is, therefore, modified to some extent, in so far as a second union is entered into, the second wife not usurping the authority of, or claiming any equality whatever with, the first ; and the first recognising the children of the second as her own and perfectly legitimate in every respect. The story in the Bible of Abraham, his wife Sarah, and her servant Hagar is not unlike our institution. More frequently, and especially in higher families, adoption is resorted to, the adopted son being, if possible, a relation ; if there are no relations, a boy who is well known to the prospective adoptive father is chosen : he becomes completely a member of the household, and the “ *sacra* ” of the family are confided to his care.

Under two exceptional cases divorce is allowed ; the first is : Disobedience accompanied by insult to the parents of the husband ; the second : Failure of heirs after the wife has reached a certain age.

The two other methods usually adopted in the second case have already been mentioned.

The duties specially relegated to the wife are the supervision of the household and the care of the old parents. There are no workhouses for the old and weak in China ; the family quite replaces these benevolent institutions of the highly civilized West.

Marriage in China is, of course, quite a family act : it is contracted between families, and has for its object the increase of the family ; and its sanctity is in no way due to any religious ceremony.

The law imposes no disqualifications on sex, except in so far as they are necessitated by our family institutions. Daughters for instance, do not inherit, as the law-giver did not wish that the possessions of a family should be scattered ; it is obvious, therefore, that marriages for money do not exist in China. A wife can alienate, buy, or otherwise dispose of property, to the same extent as is in the power of the husband. Division of property occurs rarely, even when the original family has grown to two or more. Every member contributes to the family fund according to his earnings ; no distinctions arise on that score. Fraternity and equality reign in the households, and in China these words are written in the heart, whilst elsewhere they are displayed on the walls. Man is attached to the soil, which returns to him a hundred-fold ; in other countries large tracts are often acquired by individuals, through marriage or otherwise, and are left nearly uncultivated, whilst poverty and hunger is the lot of the majority. Our millions are happy and contented ; philosophical principles are deeply and indelibly instilled in the minds of the people ; they are laborious and patient, and wealth is distributed to the greatest advantage ; abroad we are actually

reproached for our virtues, as the less frugal and laborious competitors are naturally ousted.

The three religions professed in China have already been mentioned in connection with the assumed religious belief of the Emperor.

The religious system of Lao-tze, of which the adherents are called Taoists, admits metempsychosis; its disciples are chiefly found among the unlettered classes.

The system of Fo, better known under the name of Buddhism, is a metaphysical doctrine pregnant with vast and profound speculations.

Finally, the religion of the literary class is that of Confucius; it is a pure morality, preaching the most elevated sentiments, and having for its ultimate object the perfection of man by the education of his moral sense.

It is to this system of religion and philosophy that the worship of ancestors owes its chief support, though more or less it is practised throughout China, independent of religious belief.

In the West, forgetfulness of the dead is, I believe, quite the rule. They are buried in cemeteries, where their tombs are forgotten, and in a short while destroyed to make room for new-comers: these cities of the dead are as melancholy as places accursed. Our dead are never forgotten; we carry them to the hills, nearer to the skies, and there, in the midst of eternal nature, they sleep undisturbed their eternal sleep. Their memories are ever kept fresh, and their deeds are recorded as an example to future generations. The cult is spread among rich and poor alike, and every individual feels that he is a part of a whole, and not a mere isolated being on the face of the earth: he feels that behind him are ascendants beseeching him to do his duty as a man and as their descendant, and to educate his progeny in the path of righteousness and virtue, so that they in their turn may hand down to future generations the traditions of honour and nobility that alone can give vitality and strength to a race.

Temples are erected to the memory of the ancestors, and dwelling apartments are often joined to them ; twice a year festivals in connection with the cult are held, and form occasions for the meeting of distant relations coming from afar. Services done to the State are often rewarded with the inauguration of a temple, where, after the lapse of centuries, Imperial delegates still attend year by year to take part in the ceremonies and festivals with which the distinguished departed is honoured.

As has been incidentally remarked, in China the cultivation of land forms the basis of national wealth ; agricultural operations are, it is true, carried on by a multitude of individuals and on a very small scale, but it has not been found that this subdivision in any way interfered with the success of agriculture. The continual increase of population might, perhaps, eventually exceed the supplies the soil can yield ; but as yet the contrary takes place ; and apparently with the increase of workers a more than corresponding increase in the yield is obtained. For a husbandman to have many children is a blessing and a source of wealth, inasmuch as each child can by his labour, if bestowed on the cultivation of the land, produce a yield in excess of what he consumes ; the capital created in this way is again applied to the improvement of the land, which in return provides occupation and sustenance, together with a fair interest on the capital and labour expended. It is, surely, a great testimony to the industry and success of our people in husbandry, if an ordinary workman earns on the average five times as much as he with a small family need expend ! I think a good deal of sound reasoning could be founded on this fact alone. From the very earliest times great importance has been attached to encouraging agriculture, and to rendering it more profitable by extensive systems of irrigation. The Emperor and the Empress every year preside, the former at agricultural festivals and the latter at those connected with the cultivation of silk ; they show themselves to the public, and receive ovations. On

these occasions the Emperor himself follows the plough; and the Empress, taking a cocoon, spins off the silk as an example to the people. Then they both, as the parents of this great agricultural family, distribute prizes and rewards by way of encouraging their thrifty and industrious children.

Statistics are often very valuable aids to the proper understanding of the actual state of affairs in a country. The following statistical figures will speak for themselves; and though they are only approximate, they are not exaggerated. The total value of our cultivated land now exceeds the sum of 72,000 million pounds sterling; this sum, divided among 400 million inhabitants, leaves to each individual the sum of £180. A single family, on the average, consists of six to seven people; this would give the family a capital of £1080, and as money is at least six times as valuable in China as in the West, and without even considering the great domestic economy where there is joint family life, the sum of at least £6000 would, according to Western ideas of value, represent the average capital in land at the disposal of a family of six members.

The Government in every possible way encourages agriculture, and has instilled zeal and passionate love of husbandry into its subjects. Extracts from The Holy Edict published in 1671 by the Emperor Khang-Hsi, and commented by his successor, Yung-Cheng, in 1724, may be of interest.

The IVth maxim of The Holy Edict says:—"Hold in honour agriculture and the cultivation of the mulberry-tree." And in the commentary the following sentences occur:—

"The most essential things for the maintenance of a people are food and clothing; both are obtained by the cultivation of the land and the mulberry-tree; every man who does not cultivate will feel hunger, every woman who does not weave will feel the cold."

". . . . By the natural order of things, nourishment and clothing are produced by the soil, matured by the seasons and gathered by labour; if the least negligence

is allowed in these fundamental occupations, it amounts to delivering oneself passively to misery.

“ Most provinces are not favourable for the cultivation of the mulberry-tree and the breeding of the silk-worm ; but hemp and cotton are grown there, which can be woven or plaited. The vestments so obtained are, it is true, different, but the occupation is nevertheless analogous to the cultivation of the mulberry-tree.”

“ May you, O my people, apply yourself with all energy to the cultivation of the soil and the mulberry-tree ! Do not reject lightly your fields and gardens, if perchance one season has proved unproductive ! Do not hanker after the extraordinary gains and the large profits of commerce, and do not change all of a sudden your traditional occupation.”

“ And you, soldiers, remember that the pay you receive every month and your rations out of the public granaries are both derived from the people, every thread in your uniforms, every grain of your rice, is the product of agriculture and the cultivation of the mulberry-tree. It is therefore your duty to protect the people, so that they may devote all their energies to the cultivation of the soil and the mulberry.”

“ Let the husbandman not quit his plough,” proceeds the Emperor, “ and let not luxury and the love of gold and gems cause you to neglect the soil and the mulberry.”

I should have liked to describe State administration more in detail than I have done, to speak of the granaries established in every province to counteract the danger of famines, and especially to have given a consecutive history of the present marvellous system of canalization and irrigation in our country ; how our means of communication are of an unrivalled perfection and cheapness, through the medium of our rivers and canals, and how these same rivers are used for the fertilization of the whole country, and give rise to an extensive system of pisciculture throughout the Empire. The space at my disposal does not, however, allow me to follow my inclination this time ; but my utmost expectations

will be realized, if I have succeeded in freeing the reader from his prejudices regarding China and the Chinese, and if I have induced him to take an interest in the most ancient civilization of the world.

TSHENG-KI-TONG.

ASIA ON THE PACIFIC AND THE BEHRING SEA.

OUR usual aspect of the route to Asia is by the sea to the eastward, and more particularly so since the opening of the Suez Canal. Such is the natural result of long and ancient traditions and of our nearness to Western Asia. The routes by the Pacific and the opening up of a new political world in that ocean do not impress our minds that they are of any moment to us, and particularly in connection with India. Year by year, however, the effects of the opening of the Pacific begin to show themselves more strongly and unmistakably; and though they do not immediately touch India, they do exercise already a direct influence on China, Japan, and the Philippine Islands.

Of course the establishment of independence in the Spanish countries on the west coast of America was the effective cause of the ocean being sought by foreign commerce, chiefly English. The stream of trade was, however, narrow, round Cape Horn, and then along the coast to Central America. The real impulse was given by the discovery of gold in California, and this was chiefly worked by Americans. It led first to the transit of the Isthmus of Panama, with a railway across it and steamers in connection, and subsequently, in competition for this traffic, to the Pacific Railway.

The great guano and nitrate trade from Peru has exercised less influence, because it passed from the South Pacific into the Atlantic.

The railways over the North American continent now include the rival enterprise of the Canadian Dominion, which, like the United States, has given large land grants

for its construction. Thus enterprises, which in their beginning were only intended to give access to California from the United States, have become direct channels for trade also for England and Europe, and have given activity to California, Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia, and their chief ports of San Francisco and Vancouver. The local objects no longer confine enterprise, and lines of steamers are established and in progress from the west coast to Australia, China, and Japan.

It is this connection, recently formed with Australia, which has a particular bearing on eastern relations and on the policy of India. Formerly, Australia, like India and China, was only reached from England round the Cape of Good Hope; nor was the passage by Cape Horn looked upon as other than an alternative course. The communication by the Pacific railways, however, has, even in its early stages, produced a material influence. Already, letters can be sent from England to Australia as quickly across the Pacific as by the Suez Canal; and altogether, these regions find themselves relieved from dependence, in peace or war, on the Suez Canal or Cape routes. The discovery of gold, too, has encouraged a large growth of wealth, population, and political energy in these constitutional States.

A new course of policy, naval and military, is acquiring consistency. A chain of connection is established from Australasia with the naval station of Esquimalt, near Vancouver; and a greater safeguard has been established against the menacing Russian arsenal, which since the Crimean war has been brought a thousand miles south into open navigation and, so far, nearer to our Australian cities. Like relations bind India with Australia for mutual protection, while in case of difficulties in the passage by the Red Sea, or round the Cape, the Pacific route becomes available for Indian purposes.

In forecasting Indian policy, it is now necessary to take these new elements into account. Our position in India is much stronger and much safer, as we are not solely depen-

dent on the old course of aid from England ; but we have an additional channel open, and subsidiary reserves in Australia and Canada, as well as in Africa, with growing resources.

These facts are so new that they may well escape the attention of some, more particularly as the intercourse between India and Australia is restricted, and between our eastern empire and Canada may be said to be non-existent. Then, too, the arrangements are still in a condition of development ; more steamers for the mail routes are being got ready here ; and the city of Vancouver (which was burnt to the ground but three years ago) is spreading out into a city of stone, with a large port and railway as well. Esquimalt is being equipped from the home arsenals, and its coal-mines are being extended. Spurred on by all these preparations, San Francisco is pushing on its competition with its new and small rival of Vancouver, which owes its vigour to the Canadian Pacific having there established its terminus.

The constitution of the federation or Dominion of Canada has brought a large State to bear on the Pacific, incorporating the thinly peopled territory of British Columbia, and providing it with powerful materials for growth and development. Here, again, we are apt to look, as of old, at Canada on the St. Lawrence, and not at the new Canada extending from the St. Lawrence to the western ocean, and exciting the envy of the great kindred federation to its south.

This Dominion has infused a rivalry into the Australian provinces, and those of South Africa. A desire is growing to bring together the Australian countries into a federation ; and though circumstances are less favourable in Africa, the movement is proceeding there.

Colonial federation preceding Imperial federation, has of late become a fixed idea. There are doubts and diversities of opinion how such means are to be carried out and how they can be worked ; but the idea is accepted. The dis-

cussion which has preceded this stage and which accompanies it, has stimulated the still wider organization contemplated by the recognition of the "English-speaking" communities of the world, and of which, and of the relations to India, the last number of the Asiatic Quarterly gave detailed consideration.*

Thus from the Pacific, from the Indian Ocean, and from the Atlantic, currents of English influence are being brought to bear on India, which must produce vast effects in the near future. These must include greater assurance against the dangers of foreign aggression or internecine conspiracy. They must ensure for India, moral and material development on the lines of those operations which have built up our flourishing communities in various parts of the world. Many new circumstances contribute to the realization of a new epoch.

The historic relations between Western India and the opposite shores of Africa have taken the practical shape of a vast commerce, accompanied by the intervention of natives of Hindostan in the traffic of the countries from the northernmost English bounds, even into South Africa. In Natal and in the Cape the old storekeepers are meeting with competition, and are being steadily displaced. These movements must react upon India. What will also influence India and Ceylon is the growth of the tea export to Australia and the North West coast. The old efforts to promote trade between India and Australia will now be continued, and with more decided results.

There is, however, one point of danger. The cession of our ancient rights in Madagascar to the French, without equivalent compensation, will in case of war expose the commerce of India to greater dangers and loss than formerly from Bourbon and Mauritius.

* "The English Language in India and the East," by Hyde Clarke. In the Federal Congress in London, India was not directly represented; but it was provided for by the presence of the ministers of the Imperial Government.

Our hope must lie in making ourselves stronger in India and more secure. It is particularly by the adequate and immediate extension of the railway systems, abandoning the prejudices of local statesmen, that we shall do this. We shall provide for the extension of the well-being of the populations of Hindostan; and the provision for these wants will make the military resources of the empire more applicable and more available. We must carry out the policy of occupation of the hills, which will give a sure basis for the English population, the backbone of our power in the country, and the essential agency for the protection and advancement of the natives. At one time the Indian Government had determined to place one-fifth of the English troops in hill cantonments; but the cantonments have never been provided. The value of such hill stations may well be seen from Africa, where at length Kilimanjaro and the neighbouring regions, which we so long neglected, are being competed for as the suitable seats for stable government; and the Germans have taken possession of the Cameroons.

Greater intercourse between Hindostan and the colonies will give a better knowledge of mutual interests. India will become more known in Australia for instance, and a deeper interest will be created. Thus the English language and English modes of thought will be more effectually propagated, and political influences will be more strongly built up.

The political relations of China are as much affected and changed by the events we have described, as if some material variation had taken place in the geography of the country. China has always Russia on her borders eager to destroy her, as to destroy every nationality. She has still the English in India on her southern frontiers, but everything tends to lessen rivalry with us, and to create bonds of amity. To a certain extent the new naval power of Russia to the north, so menacing to China as taking her in flank in her maritime provinces, is paralysed. Russia can no longer hope to exercise dominion on the northern Pacific, and has

rivals also too powerful to permit her supremacy. She has reached the Pacific only to encounter the Americans and the English.

Japan is now relieved from the danger which menaced her independence, and will no longer have to submit to cessions of territory. The fate of Corea will most likely be decided by the progress of the new policy on the Pacific.

An enormous but obscure influence in this new world, which is springing up before our eyes, is that of the United States. A canonized doctrine, the Munro doctrine, theoretically shuts off the States from the rest of the world, and allows of no European action within the American continent. Mr. Blaine fully believes in the Munro doctrine and in the Pan-American doctrine; and he has lately held a congress. Events, however, are stronger than theories, and events have proved unfavourable to these doctrines. It was easy, formerly, to keep the States free of European or Eastern entanglements; and yet, practically, the establishment of the Republic of Liberia on the West Coast of Africa, under American patronage, exceptional as it was, is a real infraction of the doctrine of non-intervention.

It is, however, the immense progress of California, attended with corresponding results in the neighbouring States, which has brought the United States into new political relations. The kingdom of Hawaii is practically a protected American territory. The States have taken part in the Samoan question with no wavering hand. They cannot allow their enormous interests in the Pacific to be deprived of the protection of their naval force. They are compelled to provide harbours and coaling stations for their modern steam marine.

Mr. Secretary Blaine has devoted much pains to the Pan-American Congress, and with very small success as yet, and with little promise for the future. The Spanish States cannot form the alliance he wishes. There are no advantages in trade which can be offered them; and the exclusion of their best customers in Europe means likewise

a sole dependence on the New York money-market for financial requirements. Above all, there are the jealousy and fear of the race and language forming in a solid mass in the North American continent of seventy millions: in the States (64,000,000), Canada (5,000,000), and English West Indies (1,000,000). Mexico is surely on the way by her railway junction to become a dependency of the States, and Central America will follow. Race, language, and religion differing, are of themselves elements of jealousy, as well as the superior political success of the States, already the arbiters of peace and war among the Spanish States. Everywhere the Americans of the North are held in hatred by the populace of the South.

In such a condition of feeling no solid alliance is possible between the States and the Spaniards; and the ultimate alliance must be between the States and their English brethren. Circumstances have already assigned a part to each in the Pacific—to the States in the North, with the Hawaiian Islands; to England in the South Pacific, with Australia.

Neither has any design or desire to appropriate territory in China or Japan; and when the knowledge of this has impressed the Chinese Government, the bases will have been laid of cordial relations between China and the English-speaking States. This will counteract the results of the irritation in China against the treatment of Chinamen in California and Australia. If Chinamen are excluded by us in Australia, they have free access to Singapore and the Straits. China may submit to restrictions of immigration in California, if she have the assurance of support from the States for the integrity of her empire.

The case of Japan is parallel; and the States have now to consider and to safeguard their interests in the two Oriental empires.

The amity between the States and Russia rests on traditions and circumstances which have been changed. In the time of deadly spite against England and Englishmen, after

the War of Independence (though the States had more supporters in the old and home country than elsewhere), the States looked to Russia for naval co-operation. The two countries were then remote. The growth of California brought on a neighbourhood with Russian possessions on the Pacific; and the sale of Alaska, little as it bore that aspect at the time, marked the close of American connection with Russia.

Tradition lingers on when its substance has lost its vitality; and Russia will long entertain the belief of a naval alliance with the States, and will continue to bestow attentions on American visitors. There was a time when these courtesies told powerfully. The visitor from the Far West to the old home—a Senator or nominal general—was coldly received in London. He was not treated as a stranger, but relegated to his exact position as a provincial in the general society. He was the more irritated, as some literary fellow-citizen was the subject of profuse attentions, and even of ovations, from all classes of the community. He could not even avenge himself by vilifying the effete aristocracy or affirming American superiority.

Such visitors left for the Continent to be fêted by Louis Napoleon, and at St. Petersburg to receive princely attentions; and they returned to America deeply enamoured of Russia. Now times are much changed. The American visitor finds himself at home in his old country; he regards its monuments and great men as pertaining to himself, and looks upon as his own the village or hamlet from which his pilgrim forefather started, and where he can recognise many a relic of the olden time. Cordially received even by strangers, he acknowledges that no statutes can make him a foreigner, nor place him in the ranks of such.

The ties of blood are now more widely recognised on both sides, and hostile elements cannot prevent this. The rankling after the War of Independence still encourages the antagonistic members among the American population to indulge in bitter attacks; but the efforts are fruitless to over-

come the natural influences. So many circumstances contribute to a common result. Not the least of these is the Press so widely distributed, each paper feeding on the other, and distributing the same sensational words as to some individual or local incident. The telegraph keeps up the excitement; and the editor of a Western or Colonial paper, barely established, is provided with the material for satisfying the common wants of his few readers, who are supplied with what tens of millions are reading.

The novelist, the preacher, and the actor are missionaries acting in the same direction. The novel is republished or pirated on both sides, and an American drama is rehearsed on every stage of England, America, and Australia. The columns of *The Times* show how inter-marriages on both sides of the Atlantic are increasing. Formerly the States had no attractions for Englishmen or Englishwomen and American women were birds of passage here. Now, the American is at home in London society, and he moves among his own duchesses and leaders of fashion.

The States and Russia are therefore on opposite shores of the ocean, but the inter-communication is small. Such as it is, however, it provides material as of old for irritation in the attempts of individual American adventurers to trade with the Russian settlements and in the Russian seas. The close Russian system will, however, be invaded, and fair access of Americans cannot be eventually resisted. It is in Siberia that such contact may have the more considerable effects. Geographical considerations, as well as those of political conditions, leave the Russians of Siberia in greater individual freedom and with greater freedom of thought than in the main body of the empire; and there are not wanting observers who believe that the ultimate movement in Russia will begin from Siberia. Siberia, too, is fringed by tribes of the Ugro-Altaic races—Ugrians, Mongols, Manchus, and Turks; and a more serious revolution than that of the Spanish Colonies may lead to Russian independence.

Thus the future relations of the States with Russia will not be those of political alliance, and may become those of political hostility, particularly with regard to China. The large bodies of Jews, Germans, Swedes, and Memnonites in the States have no endearing remembrances of the Russian Government; and may excite public opinion against it if any event occurs in Russia to provoke attention. The Panslavist attempts to Russianize the various populations of the Czar are being steadily pursued; and while the abolition of privileges in the Baltic regions has irritated the Germans and Swedes, we see by late events that the Jews are ever ready to resent any interference with their co-religionists, and to excite the sympathies of Europe and America.

What at the present moment brings the Pacific into prominence is the "Behring's Sea" question in the last century, and then known as the Nootka Sound question. This matter is so old that it has been dealt with by William Pitt, by Canning, by Wellington, by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and now by Lord Salisbury; and it is to be hoped the latter will achieve no less success than his eminent predecessors.

Of late much has been published; and quite recently the correspondence has been embodied in the Blue Book "United States No. 2 (1890)," including correspondence from 1886 to August 2nd, 1890. It might be supposed that it was quite unnecessary to write anything more on a subject which it would be conceived had been fully discussed. This does not, however, happen to be the case, though the Press in England and the States have partially followed such correspondence as transpired; and it is only in Lord Salisbury's last despatch of August 2nd that the real gist of the controversy with Mr. Secretary Blaine is referred to; and even then there remains more to be said to make the facts clear to those desirous of becoming acquainted with them, and particularly to those in India not conversant with American history.

One cause of obscurity is, that the phrase Behring's Sea is a new importation into geography, adopted by the American Secretary of State for a special purpose of proposing it as a close sea, or *mare clausum*. In older maps the name is not to be found, but Behring's Straits and the Sea of Kamchatka. Another circumstance is, that New Albion and Nootka Sound, the seat of the English settlement founded in the last century, have disappeared from present maps. Captain Cook, in going into the Sound, asked its name, and, being misunderstood, was told Nootka. Of late years the mistake has become known locally, and the once famous Nootka is as little known there as here. About fifty years ago also the controversy which had borne the name of Nootka was devoted to the contest about the Columbia River and the boundary between our empire and the United States, and the parallel of latitude ultimately adopted as a conventional and effective line.

Besides all these geographical metamorphoses and transpositions, the N.W. Coast has been designated by various appellations. Drake denominated it the Kingdom of New Albion, the Spaniards established their mission settlements in California, while the northern part has been called New Caledonia, and at length, to avoid confusion with the island which the French were allowed to appropriate, is now entitled British Columbia. Between that and California have been established the newly-named and newly-constituted States of Oregon and Washington.

A professed geographer can hardly steer his way through the complications, which appear to have embarrassed the Colonial Office here and the Department of State in Washington.

Sir Francis Drake in 1579 struck the North-West American coast, in about Lat. 43° N., and turning South found within the latitude 33° a convenient harbour, where he refitted the treasure-laden *Golden Hind*, and where, in friendly intercourse with the natives, he received their homage in the name of Queen Elizabeth. This is supposed

to have been near the Golden Gate, or San Francisco.* Drake called the countries he had discovered New Albion, and proclaimed Elizabeth their Queen.

This was the foundation of our claims on that coast and on British Columbia, and which we maintained against the Spaniards and the Russians. Indeed, our arrival on that coast long preceded the advent of the Russians.

After Drake, a navigator nearly as famous, Cavendish, carried the St. George's ensign into those seas. It is remarkable that what Drake merely discovered has now become the inheritance and possession of the English-speaking races in California, Oregon, Washington, and Columbia. The day will come when, in San Francisco and Vancouver, there will be statues to Drake, Cavendish, and Cook, as already statues to the last are placed on the shores of the South Pacific. At present Cook meets with little honour in the North-West, where they look rather to Vancouver as the early discoverer.

Cook also called our North West Coast New Albion, and he had a strong desire to re-visit the discoveries of the great Drake; and this was the purpose of his expedition there, as he was specially directed by the Lords of the Admiralty to make for New Albion. He says that on Saturday, the 7th of March, 1778, "the long-looked-for coast of New Albion was seen." In a note he adds, "This part of the West side of North America was so named by Sir Francis Drake."†

Cook's own visit to this coast was destined to be of no less historical importance. The weather being unfavourable, it was not till the 29th of March that he entered the Sound, which he found to be inhabited, and to which he gave the name of Nootka. He had disproved the pretended discoveries of the Spaniards of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, supposed to be the entrance of the Arctic Seas. Cook at first called the Sound "by the name of King

* *Dictionary of National Biography*, article "Drake."

† *Cook's Third Voyage*, vol. ii., p. 258.

George's Sound, but afterwards found it is called Nootka by the natives" (p. 288). The latitude he computed at $49^{\circ} 36'$. He remained at Nootka until the 26th of April. The language of the people he also called Nootka, and gave a vocabulary in the appendix of the third volume. Although the Spaniards had been on the coast, they had not then come within two degrees of Nootka.

The third voyage of Cook in its relation to New Albion led to great political events. In the stay at Nootka special attention was drawn to the supplies of furs held by the natives, and for which an eager traffic was carried on by the crews of the two ships. Cook saw the importance of these products for the China traffic; and after his untimely death the subject was brought forward in the record of the voyage by Captain King. The introduction (vol. i., p. viii.) pointedly refers to "the fresh mine of wealth discovered in the furs of King George's Sound." These are described "as a favourite commodity for the Chinese market; that market may probably be supplied by a direct trade to America, from Canton itself, with those articles which the inhabitants of China have hitherto received, only by the tedious and expensive route of Kamchatka and Kiachta."

It is not easy for every one now to conceive how, more than a century ago, elevated views of policy and enterprise were entertained by English statesmen, writers, and the general community. A very good example will be found in the Introduction to Cook's Voyages already quoted.

The invitation to adventurers was eagerly embraced by our merchants, including those of our American provinces in New England; and the trade indicated was carried on by English and American ships. It was the interference of the Spaniards with the settlement formed at the place called Nootka, discovered by Cook, which led to the Nootka Sound difficulty.

The Spaniards, as well as the Russians, claimed great privileges in the northern seas; but in the time of Cook it was not conceived that the chase and capture of the whale

and other animals of the ocean was any other than an open pursuit, free to the ships and seamen of all nations. The pretensions by the Spaniards in 1790 to interfere with this freedom, and their attempt to enforce their claims, were successfully repressed. The claim to supremacy of these seas was again made in 1821 by the Russians, and effectually resisted, as will be seen.

Another incident of a like kind has arisen in our own days, and similar pretensions have been put forward by an American Secretary of State one century later. Then the Spaniards' American ships were concerned with ours at Nootka in the trade and fisheries; and it is an extraordinary incident to find in 1890 that it is against English vessels that the claim of monopoly is advanced by Mr. Blaine. Whether the claim is against whaling or sealing makes no difference, as either class of enterprise demands the free passage of the open seas, in denial of any exclusive sovereignty of the surface of the ocean.

These incidents are in close connection, and cannot be dissevered, as they are found to be in the Blue Book, nor suppressed as they are by the United States Secretary, nor passed over as they are by our own Foreign Office. It is because of the essential light thrown on the unity of the transactions that they are here recalled, and the more particularly as the facts have passed out of the memory of so many, while they are little likely to be known to our Eastern readers. In their continuity there is a direct relation with China, and it is to that great empire their discussion has reference.

About the beginning of the year 1786 certain merchants, under the immediate protection of the East India Company, were desirous of opening a trade with the N.W. coast of America for supplying the Chinese with furs and ginseng, being the trade which "was pointed out to merchants by Captain King in his concluding volume to the voyages of Captain Cook."* The merchants communicated their de-

* Memorial of Lieut. Meares (styled Mears) in *Annual Register* for 1790, p. 287.

sign to Sir John Macpherson, the Governor-general of India, who joined in the subscription for carrying it into execution. Two vessels were purchased and placed under the direction of Mr. Meares, the memorialist, who had been a lieutenant in the service of Government.

In March the same year, 1786, one of the vessels, named the *Sea Otter*, Captain Tippin, was despatched to Prince William's Sound, and was soon followed by the other, named the *Nootka*, commanded by Mr. Meares himself, who, on his arrival in Prince William's Sound as captain, learned that the *Sea Otter* had left that place some days before; and by future intelligence was assured that she had been lost on the coast of Kamchatka. This detail is of interest, as it shows that the sea on the eastern and now Russian side of what it is proposed to term the close sea of the Behring Sea, was then free to navigation.

In Prince William's Sound the *Nootka* wintered; and in the meantime her commander opened an extensive trade with the natives, and having collected a cargo of furs, repaired to China in 1787.

In January, 1788, having disposed of the *Nootka*, Lieut. Meares, in conjunction with other English merchants, purchased two other vessels, named the *Felice* and *Iphigenia*. The former he commanded himself, and the latter he put under the direction of Captain Douglas. With the *Felice* he reached Nootka Sound in May, 1788; and his first business was to purchase from Maquito, the chief of the district, a spot of ground, on which he built a house, and on it hoisted a British flag, surrounding it with a breastwork and fortifying it with a three-pounder. He then proceeded to trade, both vessels confining themselves within the latitudes of 60° and 45° 30' North.

At Nootka he built a vessel of forty tons, called the *North-West America*. He also bought more land, of which he took possession in the king's name. One station was called Tatouche.

On September 23rd Meares proceeded to China in the

Felice and sold his cargo. He then extended his partnership with the owners of the *Princess Royal*, licensed by the East India and the South Sea Companies, and the partners purchased also a ship built at Calcutta, called the *Argonaut*.

Meares directed the *Princess Royal* and *Argonaut* to sail for America, under the command of Mr. J. Colnetto. There was also aboard a vessel in frame of thirty tons. Mr. Colnetto took out materials, stores, and what is more notable, seventy Chinese, who intended to become settlers in the country under the protection of the new country. This is the first instance of the migration of Chinamen to the North-West Coast, and this was to English territory.

On the 24th of April, 1789, Mr. Meares returned to Nootka with the *Iphigenia*, which had wintered in the Sandwich Islands, as well as the *North-West America*. They found at Nootka two American vessels, the *Columbia* and *Washington*, which had also wintered there, an example, among many others, that the Americans were also engaged in the same trade and in the same seas.

On the 6th of May, the *Iphigenia* being then at anchor in Nootka, a Spanish ship of war of twenty-six guns, the *Princessa*, commanded by Don Estuan Joseph Martinez, from San Blas in Mexico, came in and anchored. She was soon joined by a Spanish snow of sixteen guns, the *San Carlos*. For some time civilities passed between the Spaniards and Captain Douglas, and they even sold him supplies. On the 14th Captain Douglas was ordered on board the *Princessa*, and informed by Martinez that he had the order of the King of Spain to seize all ships upon the coast, and that Captain Douglas was his prisoner. The officers and men of the *Iphigenia* were conveyed as prisoners on board the Spanish ships, put in irons, and otherwise ill-treated.

Martinez then took possession of the lands and buildings, hauling down the British flag and hoisting that of Spain. He declared that all the lands between Cape Horn and the 60th degree of north latitude belonged to his catholic

majesty, and proceeded to build batteries, storehouses, etc. In this he forcibly employed some of the crew of the *Iphigenia*, and severely punished several who attempted to resist.

While Captain Douglas was detained prisoner, he was frequently urged to sign a certificate in Spanish that Martinez had found him in great distress and given him supplies for his passage to the Sandwich Islands. The instrument also contained an obligation on the part of the owners to pay on demand the valuation of the *Iphigenia* and her cargo, in case the Viceroy of New Spain should adjudge her to be a lawful prize for entering the port of Nootka without licence of the King of Spain. Captain Douglas was only released on signing this instrument, and put on board the *Iphigenia*, which he found stripped of all her merchandise, stores, provisions, etc. (even to the extent of the master's watch and clothing).

In this distress Captain Douglas had to supplicate Martinez for relief, and obtained a trifling supply of necessaries, for which he was called upon for bills on his owners at a most exorbitant rate. Even then he was restrained from proceeding to sea till the return of the *North-West America*, which Martinez bargained to sell for 400 dollars to one of the American captains. The *North-West America* arriving soon after, was seized, and her crew imprisoned.

The *Princess Royal*, however, a ship fitted in London, coming into Nootka, was allowed to depart, and she put to sea on the 2nd of July, intending to pursue the trade on the coast.

In the meantime Martinez sent the little *North-West America* to trade on the coast, and she returned in twenty days with seventy-five skins, obtained by English merchandise. The furs, valued at 7,500 dollars, Martinez appropriated to his own use.

On the 3rd of July, 1789, the *Argonaut* appeared in the offing, when Martinez boarded her in his launch, and with

expressions of civility invited Mr. Colnette into Nootka Sound, but the next day sent his lieutenant to seize her, the British flag being hauled down and the Spanish flag hoisted. Her officers and men were made prisoners, and Mr. Colnette threatened to be hanged at his own yard-arm in case of non-compliance with orders.

On the 13th of July the *Princess Royal* again appeared off the port of Nootka; but her commander, approaching the Sound in his boat in expectation of finding there the commander of the expedition, was seized and made prisoner under the threat of immediate execution if he refused to deliver up his ship. The Spaniards followed the same course as before, and seized 473 skins. Mr. Colnette became so deranged in his mind that he frequently attempted to destroy himself.

The crew of the *North-West America* was put on board the American ship *Columbia*, which proposed to sail for China, as she did.

Martinez did not forget the Chinese; and he compelled them to work in the mines, which he opened on the land purchased by Lieutenant Meares.

The course pursued by the Spaniards as well in regard to the English flag and rights, as during the subsequent negotiations, is much like that recently attempted by the Portuguese in South Africa.

Many particulars of the N.-W. navigation are to be found in the voyages of the time. English and Americans engaged in the fur trade, among which may be named those of Captains Portlock and Dixon, and of the American Captain Gray, the discoverer of the Columbia River.

In due time the details of the seizure of Nootka and of the ships reached England, and caused much excitement and indignation. The Ministry took up the case with vigour. Indeed, the Spanish Government, sufficiently doubtful of the proceedings of their emissaries, made a merit of reporting to the English Ministry that an English vessel had been condemned for trespassing on Spanish

territory, and released. The home Government was not, however, to be so deceived, and lost no time in making dignified and vigorous representations at Madrid. England had been so prostrated by the consequences of the separation of the American colonies that her *prestige* had departed. She had not an ally on the Continent; and the Spaniards thought they could persevere in setting her at defiance.

Pitt, however, had taken his own measures. He saw that the time had come to re-assert the power of England. He made new and unexpected combinations abroad, and he was determined to meet the intrigues of Spain. The steps he then took were effectual; and under his guidance Europe was prepared to resist in the long war the subsequent French attempts to subjugate these islands and the various States.

On the 5th of May, 1790,* Mr. Pitt delivered to the House (of Commons) a message from his Majesty, in which he informed them of the violence that had been committed upon two vessels belonging to his Majesty's subjects on the north-western coast of America, by an officer commanding two Spanish ships of war; of his applications to the Court of Spain for satisfaction; of its claims to an exclusive right of navigation in those seas; of its hostile preparations, and of his Majesty's determination to support the honour of his crown, and the rights and interests of his people.

The message† recited that the two vessels had been captured in Nootka Sound, that the cargoes had been seized, and that their officers and crews had been sent as prisoners to a Spanish port. The ambassador of H.C.M. had notified the capture of one of these vessels, and desired that measures might be taken to prevent Englishmen from frequenting those coasts, which were alleged to have been previously occupied and frequented by subjects of Spain. Complaints were made by him of the fisheries carried on

* *Annual Register*, vol. xxxii., p. 285.

† *Annual Register*, vol. xxxii., p. 285.

in the seas adjoining to the Spanish continent, as being contrary to the rights of the crown of Spain.

The message stated, that though the ships had been released, no satisfaction had been made or offered. It was clearly denoted that a direct claim had been made by Spain to the exclusive rights of sovereignty, navigation, and commerce in the territories, coasts, and seas in that part of the world.

As considerable armaments were being carried on in the ports of Spain, his Majesty had also given orders to make preparations, and recommended it to the House to take such measures, and to make such augmentation of the forces as might eventually be necessary for such purpose.

On the 6th of May Mr. Pitt addressed the House. He dwelt on the fact that "his Majesty's subjects had been forcibly interrupted in a trade which they had carried on for years, without molestation, in parts of America where they had an incontrovertible right of trading, and in places to which no country could claim an exclusive right of commerce and navigation."

He dwelt on the point referred to in the message, that Spain had advanced a claim to the exclusive right of navigation in those seas, that was unfounded and exorbitant, indefinite in its consequences, "aiming destruction to our valuable fisheries in the southern ocean, and tending to the annihilation of a commerce in its infancy."

Mr. Pitt concluded by moving an address in the usual form, which being seconded by Mr. Grenville, Mr. Fox rose and said he should give his vote most heartily for the address, in which he believed the House would be unanimous. The address was voted by the Commons, and also by the Lords.

The King of Spain considered it necessary to issue a declaration on the 4th of June, 1790, in explanation of his conduct, and this he transmitted to all the European courts.* The king stated that he had been informed of

* *Annual Register* for 1790, vol. xxxii., p. 292.

the representations made on the 16th of May by H.B.M.'s minister, relative to the "*unexpected* dispute between his Court and Great Britain's as to the vessels captured in Port St. Lawrence (as he now named it), or Nootka Sound, on the coast of *California*," H.C.M. declared that he did not wish to claim anything beyond his treaty rights, and was ready to enter upon every examination most likely to terminate the dispute in an amicable way. H.C.M. went on to state that the Courts of London and Madrid had not yet received authenticated accounts, and that the papers from New Spain had not arrived. In a shuffling way it was affirmed that the *Argonaut* had not been seized till legally condemned, and that in the case of the *Princess Royal* only an obligation was taken from the captain to pay the price of the vessel, if she was declared to be a lawful prize. The same terms, it was added, had been applied to a Portuguese vessel belonging to Macao (which, however, was the *Iphigenia*), and to two American vessels.

Incidentally the king refers to a complaint which he had made to the Court of Russia as to some similar points relative to the navigation of the South Sea.

After complaining that he had been too roughly called to account by the English Government, "Nevertheless the king does deny what the enemies to peace have industriously circulated, that Spain extends pretensions and right of sovereignty over the whole of the South Sea, as far as China." He acknowledges that Spain had used the words, "In the name of the king, his sovereignty, navigation, and exclusive commerce to the continent and islands of the South Sea." This the king proceeds to explain or to explain away.

The king again proposes his desire for a fair consideration and settlement of past acts, and of any questions which may in future arise.

On the 13th of June, 1790,* the Court of Spain delivered

* *Annual Register* for that year, p. 295.

a memorial to Mr. Fitzherbert, our ambassador. It is affirmed that by every treaty on record, an exclusive right of property, navigation, and commerce to the Spanish West Indies had been uniformly secured to Spain. The treaty of Utrecht is then quoted. The viceroys of Peru and New Spain had taken measures that the western coasts of Spanish America and islands and seas adjacent should be more frequently navigated and explored. The memorial again refers to the negotiations with Russia, and an attempt to agree upon limits on the N.W. Coast. The transactions with the English in Nootka Sound are described in a manner totally contrary to the facts. The memorial claims that Nootka was discovered by the Spaniards, and visited in 1755, and again in 1774, and 1779, and all along the coasts as far as Prince William's Sound; and that it was in pursuance of these acts that the Spanish Commander Martínez had, in 1789, entered Nootka, in the usual tour of the coasts of California. Further, the Spaniards affirmed that vessels had actually been seized on those coasts, so far back as 1692.

The memorial goes on to complain of the haughty language of the English Ministry, which caused the Court of Spain to conceive that England entertained some ulterior and hostile designs. Spain therefore made warlike preparations.

The next attempt of the Spaniards, according to this document, was to represent that the Viceroy of Mexico had released the vessels, and that, therefore, the king looked upon the affair as concluded.

The attempts at shuffling being resisted, the Court of Spain, on the 10th of May, received a demand for full restitution and indemnification for all losses, and reparation to English subjects proportioned to the injury. It was affirmed that Englishmen have "an indisputable right to the enjoyment of a free and uninterrupted navigation, commerce, and fishing; and to the possession of such establishments as [they should form with the consent of the

natives of the country, not previously occupied by any of the European nations." To this "an explicit and prompt answer was desired."

The memorial of the king did not, however, give this explicit and prompt answer.*

Many documents succeeded, which will be found at the reference already given. When Mr. Merry, the English ambassador, showed a desire to yield any point, the Spanish minister immediately went back to demand more, and to deny the facts. On the 21st of July, 1790, a declaration was however made at Madrid by H.C.M.'s minister, and exchanged for a counter declaration by H.E. Mr. Fitzherbert.†

The closing document was, however, the convention between H.B.M. and the King of Spain, signed at the Escorial, 28th October, 1790.‡ By the first article the buildings and land seized by the Spaniards were to be restored; and by the second, reparation was to be made. The third article secures that the subjects of both "shall not be disturbed or molested, either in navigating or carrying on their fisheries in the Pacific Ocean, or in the South Seas." By Article IV. British subjects shall not navigate nor carry on their fishery in the said seas within the space of ten sea leagues from any part of the coasts already occupied by Spain. Mutual access is, however, by Article V. given to the subjects of both, in any settlements on the coast of N. America formed since April, 1789.

The Lord Mayor and Corporation, on the conclusion of the arrangement, presented to the king an address of congratulation.

On the 26th of November the settlement was reported in the king's speech, and the papers presented to Parliament.

The drafts of the despatches, which remain in the Foreign Office, are, I have been informed, in the hand of

* Fitzherbert, *Annual Register*, 8, xxxii.

† p. 300.

‡ *Annual Register*, 1790, p. 303.

Pitt himself. It is to be hoped, if the Foreign Office do not publish them at an early date, they will be included in the useful series, of which the Royal Historical in its new career of activity has given an example.

Among other incidents of this episode in history, it may be observed that the Court of Spain made a direct appeal to the revolutionary Government of France, in regard to the dispute with England, and on which a debate took place in the National Assembly, but which only resulted in damage to Spanish interests.

Captain George Vancouver, R.N., was, in consequence of the events on the N.W. Coast, sent out on a government voyage of discovery in 1791, and remained until 1795. He was also charged with the execution of the Convention of Madrid.* It was in 1792 that Captain Vancouver discovered the strait by which the island, now named after him, is separated from the main land. The new city of Vancouver is not on the island, but on the main. In the end of the year he proceeded to Nootka; but after long discussions did not succeed in obtaining from the Spaniards the execution of the agreed terms, and the matter was referred back to their respective Courts.

San Francisco Captain Vancouver found in 1792 in a very unimproved state, and nothing to indicate the most remote connection with any European or other civilized nation.

On the 24th of February, 1794, Captain Vancouver obtained from the King of Hawaii the cession of his Hawaiian territories, but from which cession we have not permanently benefited.

Towards the end of that year Captain Vancouver found a new governor at Nootka, who was, he said, anxious to make the cession, but was awaiting instructions. Shortly after instructions did arrive from the Viceroy of Mexico; but Captain Vancouver had determined to make the best of his way to England.

* *Annual Register*, vol. xl., p. 476.

On the coast Captain Vancouver found the fur trade established, and several English and American vessels engaged in it. It is stated that the number in 1792 was twenty-one, chiefly American.* The chief fur of that day was the sea otter.

Another chapter of the history relates to the mission of the Duke of Wellington, to the Congress of Vienna (afterwards held at Verona), in 1822.

The chief object of this mission was in relation to European policy in general; but, as stated in the Blue Book, pp. 518, 520, the Duke was specially commissioned by Mr. Canning to deal with the North-West American matters. On the communication of the ukase of the Czar, in 1821, our Government immediately protested against the pretensions of the Russian ukase to exclusive dominion over the Pacific, and to a monopoly of a hundred Italian miles from land.

The letters of Mr. Canning and the Duke will be found appended to Lord Salisbury's despatch of 2nd August last, and are well worth perusal. The United States equally resisted the pretensions, and required Russia to enter into a convention.

In 1822 the Russians had seized the Boston brig *Pearl* for whaling in Behring's Sea within 100 miles of the coast line. The United States compelled the *Pearl* to be restored, and the damages of her owners duly paid.†

In 1825 our Government also signed a convention with that of Russia, through Sir Stratford Canning (Lord Stratford de Redcliffe), as Special Plenipotentiary; and the instructions and correspondence of George Canning with him are given at length. The convention was signed in February, 1825.

Upon this correspondence it is not necessary to dwell, nor upon the incidents of the recent correspondence included in the Blue Book. It certainly does seem strange

* Freeman Hunt. *Lives of American Merchants*. J. J. Astor. Vol. ii., p. 394.

† Sir G. Baden Powell, M.P., in *The Times* of 21 August, 1890.

that the officials of the Department of State should so studiously have avoided, as if forgetting, incidents figuring in American history, and well enough known in connection with the discovery of the Columbia River, the formation of Astoria at its mouth, and all the political and commercial details so abundantly recorded. They must also have forgotten, until reminded of them, the despatches of Mr. J. Quincy Adams, a statesman of eminence. On the other hand, it is well deserving of remark, as is seen in the Blue Book, that many of the American press, including the *New York Herald*, showed great fairness in dealing with the discussion.

It is curious that our own Colonial and Foreign Offices should only bring forward the despatches of 1822 and 1825, at the very last period of the correspondence, and in the very last despatch, and should not have profited by any allusion to the preceding circumstances and the action of Mr. Pitt.

The impression made by the Blue Book is, that the despatches of Lord Salisbury show great ability, as do the local despatches of Sir Julian Pauncefote, and that Mr. Blaine has not made a single point.

There are many matters in the Blue Book suggestive of comment; but the object of this article is to illustrate chiefly the points affecting our interests in the East and in India.

At the close of Lord Salisbury's despatch is a clause which suggests comment. He says (p. 519), "It must be remembered that British Columbia has come into existence as a British Colony at a comparatively recent date, and that the first considerable influx of population, some thirty years ago, was due to the discovery of gold, and did not tend to an immediate development of the shipping interest." What was the previous history, even from 1787, is not detailed, but it will be found in these pages, and will be found to have a close bearing on the matter of the negotiations.

The merchants and ship-owners of British Columbia have been the chief actors in local events; and having regard to the history and rights of that ancient colony, it would have been well if the claim had been more prominently that of British Columbia, which has its own Agent General. By our putting forward the Dominion of Canada, we have allowed a great deal of prejudice to be created on the question in the United States, where there is a jealousy of Canada, where it is not understood what interest the provinces on the St. Lawrence can have in the Pacific, and between which provinces and the fishing interests of New England so strong a feud is now matter of discussion and dissension. The Ministers of the Dominion of Canada have not themselves put forward in its full effect the case of British Columbia.

HYDE CLARKE.

THE NON-CHRISTIAN VIEW OF MISSIONARY FAILURES.

The modern Failure of Christian Missions has quite a literature of its own; and at first sight it would appear that there was little left to be said, when even Christian writers had ranged themselves on the two sides, as maximizers and minimizers of the work done and doing. One view represents them as absolute failures, the other as most promising ventures. But the thoughtful reader of these two views of the question can hardly fail to see that there is yet a third view of the work of the Missions:—that of those whose conversion is sought—that of Non-Christians.

This view has few if any exponents. This is partly because few Christians can enter into the sentiments with which their efforts are regarded by Non-Christians, or see things from their stand-point; and partly because few have the courage to express these views, even if they know them. Most Christians are very intolerant of criticism themselves, in proportion as they take liberties in criticizing other religions.

Yet there is such a point of view, and it is of importance to all Christian Missionary Societies and individuals to know it, and to study it, if they are to succeed in their efforts. The real missionary must enter into the mind, as it were, of his opponents, and examine their position from the inside; for thus only can he prepare his plan of attack and execute it, with any prospect of success.

This being so, no further apology is needed for laying before the public the Non-Christian View of Missionary Efforts, as held by their learned men, and by them propagated among the people. The following paper, therefore, is not the personal belief of the writer; but it expresses, for the consideration of Christians of all kinds, what is thought, in the Non-Christian East, of Christian Missions. It will show to the thoughtful reader the difficulties of the Missions and the possibilities of overcoming them.

At a Viceregal reception in Calcutta, a few years ago, a native gentleman was conspicuous as the only one who had come in entirely Indian costume. All the others wore the ordinary evening dress of the West—one of several things in which Young Bengal apes Europe. Thus, in the crowded rooms, his was the only covered head, his the only form arrayed in voluminous folds of the gossa-

mer muslin of Dacca. As he stood, the centre of a brilliant ring of both races, whom the united charms of his affability, learning, and conversational powers never failed to attract around him, a flippant aide-de-camp tried a joke at his appearance. "Maharajah!" he said, "you have given us Europeans an unexpected treat to-night, in this beautiful Oriental garb of flowing silk and muslin."—"Thank you for your compliment, sir!" was the ready reply. "We Orientals, you know, are very conservative. Our dress not only suits our country, but our forefathers also have used it for untold centuries, long before yours had learned to decorate their naked bodies with woad and ochre." There was more than wit and repartee in this reply: there was sense.

Why should a man exchange what he has proved to be good and useful, for something else which another, with diametrically opposite ideas, declares to be better? Opinions are not always the results of facts alone; but often also of local influences, of early education, and of simple prejudice. This is especially the case in matters of religion: each considers his own best.

Christianity has, however, since its first rise, gone forth to the world and said, "I am the only true, good, and real religion; all others are bad; follow me, ye nations, for to my excellence you all must eventually and necessarily become subject." It not only asserted its own goodness, but it claimed goodness exclusively.

It began this message to the Roman Empire, and its heterogeneous components. But though it soon gained adherents, four hundred years did not suffice to obtain even a bare majority, and centuries more elapsed before the country people—the *pagani*—were converted to Christianity. The miscellaneous Northern hordes, the forefathers of modern Europe, whom for want of a shorter title I must call the Barbarians, had this message conveyed to each tribe, as, in succession, it over-ran and dismembered the Roman Empire. They too were con-

verted. Their kings and chiefs were the first; the lords and attendants came next; and subjects, serfs, and slaves followed. The faith was received; but lives remained rough and uncultured for centuries, till increasing contact with the East brought refinement and civilization, through the Moors of Spain and the Saracens of Palestine. In the old Roman Empire, therefore, Christianity soon and easily secured a commanding position. In that East, however, where it first arose, it never made much progress. It never crossed the Euphrates and Tigris in force or permanently. Practically it does not exist even now to the eastward of Mesopotamia.

It first addressed the Jews, but met only a very partial success: the Jews are now broken and scattered, but Judaism still exists all over the world. This was the first missionary failure of Christianity, even in the lifetime of its first Apostles. Against Judaism, Christianity has been powerless.

In its Eastward course, Christianity next encountered Zoroastrianism in Persia. But the Chosroes met Christianity with the sword; and though you boast that "the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christianity," yet it was exterminated from the Persian Empire. Zoroastrianism fell afterwards beneath the more nervous arm of Islam; and its followers,—few and exiled,—are the Parsees of India; Christianity met its second missionary failure against Zoroastrianism.

Mohammedanism, soon after its rise, came in contact with Christianity; and the struggle begun in the seventh century continues still. Mohammedanism wrested from Christianity, and still holds, all the north of Africa (where 200 Bishops, we are told, once had sees), and many other places. Nothing, except Spain, has Christianity ever won back from Islam. Never have any, except individual conversions, taken place; and Christians admit that conversions are rarer from Islam than from other religions. On Mohammedanism, Christianity has made no impres-

sion whatever. Nay, the reverse is the case. Materially, Mohammedanism tore away entire countries from Christianity; and spiritually it inoculated Constantinople with Iconoclasm. The struggle with Mohammedanism marks the third Missionary failure of Christianity.

For 350 years Christianity has attacked Hindooism, which on principle can oppose it only by its inherent *vis inertiae*. Yet preached by men like Xavier and Nobili, aided by millions of money, and backed by the fact of the rule of Portuguese and English Christians, unhindered by any persecution to speak of, it failed. There are not yet quite 2,000,000 of Christians out of the 280 millions of India! And included in this number are not only the thousands of Europeans, and tens of thousands of Eurasians, who are not converts in any sense; and the hundreds of thousands of native Christians who are such, not by personal conversion, but from being the offspring of converts; but also many thousands, who during childhood have been purchased,—absolutely bought and Christianized,*—during the many periodical famines in India. The number of conversions, therefore, has been infinitesimal; and Christianity, far from having made any sensible impression on Hindooism, has only had to record another—the fourth—of her missionary failures.

Buddhism too has now for centuries suffered the attempts of Christianity for its subversion. But it is not yet subverted; and there is no sign, no probability of its future subversion. It still fills the whole of Eastern and central Asia, with a larger following than any other religion. Among them, after 300 years' hard work, there are not yet 2,000,000 Christians! This is the fifth failure of the Christian Missions.

* The records of the Court at Allygurh give the trial of the Rev. F. Lewis degli Abruzzi for one such transaction. He and his *confrères*, during the famine of 1862, filled their orphanage at Sirdhana with such purchased youths, who grew up so bad, that of them the late Bishop Bedenik of Agra is reported to have said to the Father Superintendent, in the words of Isaiah: *Multiplicasti gentem, sed non magnificasti letitiam.*

And in the term "Christian," I include Roman Catholics, Syrians, Nestorians, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Americans—missionaries of all kinds. I have taken all conversions to Christianity as one great whole. As the totals are infinitesimal altogether, what does it signify which of your sects has a few scores or a few thousands more than the others? It is the entire total results which show a most complete, general and miserable failure.

Why did Christianity succeed in the West, and why does it fail in the East? What is the secret of its former fecundity and its actual sterility? Why did the Western beliefs fall and disappear before Christianity, while on the Eastern religions it fails to make any real impression? Why could it convert its thousands a day at one time, and now not be able to gather, in a decade of years, even a hundredth part of the annual increase of each of the nations it addresses in the East?

Before I state the real causes of this failure, I wish to prove by figures how grossly Christians deceive themselves when they write of "the wonderful and miraculous spread of Christianity over the world" and "the influence it has exercised over mankind." Examine with me these glib statements, and see how false they are.

1. There is nothing wonderful about the spread of Christianity. Its followers number, at the end of nearly 1900 years, only 445,000,000. Hindooism, which on principle receives no converts, has 190,000,000. Buddhism, only five centuries earlier than Christianity, has 560,000,000. Mohammedanism, six centuries later than Christianity, has 160,000,000. (All other religions are about 150,000,000; making a total of about 1,505,000,000 inhabitants in the world.) There is nothing more wonderful in the numbers of one of these religions than of another. Each form of religion has spread over and been confined to the limits that suited its genius and teaching, irrespective of intrinsic goodness.

2. Christianity has not spread over the whole world;

for practically it does not exist, except in microscopic numbers, in Asia and Africa and the Indian Archipelago—considerably more than half the surface of the habitable globe. Neither in superficial area nor numbers has it gained even half the world, or a third of the human race.

3. Its influence over mankind is scarcely perceptible. By more than two-thirds of the human race, as we have seen, it is rejected and ignored. Of those who profess it, considerably more than half are only called Christians from living in "Christian countries," while by word and deed they have renounced that religion and are not therefore real Christians. This leaves only one-sixth of the human race to be counted as Christians in any real sense at all. Who will say that of these, one even in ten makes his religion a *practical influence* in his life?—*e.g.* in the scripture teaching of the danger of riches.*

4. We are near the two thousandth year of the Christian era; and yet neither in comparative numbers, nor in physical extension, nor in moral influence has Christianity yet shown itself pre-eminent. You talk of the "world" and "mankind," when you mean only "Europe and Europeans," and their extension over America and Australia. Is it not time for Christians to cease this "spread-eagle 'tall talk' "? It is an exaggeration so great as to verge on the absolutely false, and it makes you ridiculous not only to us, outsiders, but even to that increasing number among yourselves who know some geography and can test assertions.

Now to the cause of the failure of Christian Missions in the East, as explained by Non-Christians.

Put in condensed form, outsiders say: *Christianity makes converts where there is no real religion to oppose*

* The East is really detached from inordinate love of ease, luxury, and wealth, a detachment which the Bible commands, but Christians do not practise. Nay, in your feverish love of the world and its riches, you deny or explain away a clear command, and deify its opposite under the name of progress and civilization.

it: it fails where there is a real religion. By real religion I do not mean any one true religion (even supposing that there is to be one such); but anything positive, answering to any sufficient definition of Religion. By Religion we understand "the practical relation of man to God, by belief, worship, and obedience, or morality." The East has such religions; the West never had. Examine my assertion.

I. There was no real religion to oppose Christianity in the West. Greece had none, nor had Rome, nor had the northern Barbarians. Examine their mythologies, and you will see that there literally was no belief at all—not one article of any kind, except the existence of a lot of most wicked gods. A certain public worship existed, with temples, priests, idols, altars, and sacrifices. But they were all material and gross acts of worship and sacrifice, and did not require or produce any personal relation between each soul and its God. They had no personal Supreme Being, only a collection of very big and bad human beings—Jupiter, Thor, Woden, etc.

Morality they had no idea of. Might was right as to goods, slaves, wives, everything. Lust was no disgrace, bloodshed no crime, drunkenness and gluttony no degradation, lying no baseness. Except things like sacrilege, parricide, incest, and violation of hospitality, they seem hardly to have had any idea of sin, as taught to man by conscience. Every one could, and did, indulge himself as he pleased, subject only to those police regulations which society established in self-defence. Personal holiness, and self-mortification, and union with God, were absolutely unknown. There was not a vice or crime, which could not cite in its defence, nay as its model, the acts of some one or more of their gods. Murder, tyranny, violence, robbery, theft, covetousness, cheating, lying, false swearing, deceit, cunning, jealousy, envy, pride, drunkenness, gluttony, and all the various hideous forms of lust and unnatural gratifications are found in the gods

of all these so-called religions. They were simply big, strong men and women—simply human drunken debauchees.

Thus their idea of God was anthropomorphism, —of worship, a mere public show,—of morality, an unbridled licentiousness. Call you such Religions?

These, however, were what went down before Christianity in the West. They had no reality, no substance, no stamina, no hold on the people, who, gross as they were, had, at least, the use of reason. Any real religion, that offered them something reasonable to understand, to worship, and to practise; that gave them a rational idea of God and man, and their mutual relation, was sure to prove the victor. The contest, to use a vulgarism, was all skittles. It shows a great want of perception of the nature of man and his instinct for the supernatural, to imagine that there could, *a priori*, have been any great difficulty in overturning such systems. To boast then of the progress of Christianity on the ruins of such gross, material, senseless idolatries, is as reasonable as to boast of one's bravery in shooting barn-door fowls, or killing children. Greeks, Romans, and Barbarians had reason with which to work; and so, when Christianity was presented to them, with its personal Creator, its spiritual worship, its sublime holiness, and its pure morality, they naturally yielded themselves captives to its charms, after a short and sharp struggle against it as a foreign innovation. It was their first insight into a real religion; and for it they very sensibly gave up their own absurd fables and unreasonable customs.

And yet even those religions died hard. Not only in the country and villages did their embers long survive the apparent extinction of their fires, but the fierceness of manners and the violence of passions, long uncontrolled, continued for centuries to make even baptized Christians very rough material for religion to work upon. Almost till our century it was true, that if "you scratched the Christian

you found the pagan"; in Russia you can do so still; and perhaps elsewhere also.

II. But in the East, Christianity met with sterner stuff. The people there had a calm, sedate, and already venerable civilization, the progenitor of that of the West, but which had not, like its offspring, run headlong into gross corruption on the one hand, or relapsed into savage barbarism on the other. Of temporal things Christianity had nothing to offer. Gold, silver, precious stones, silks, sugars, cottons, spices, timber, the East sent to the West. Letters, arts, what was known of science,—especially medicine and mathematics,—and manufactures, the East supplied to the West. Architecture, poetry, thought, refinement, already pre-existed in the East. Nothing except a few vices, and (in our own days) the improvements of modern manufactures and science, has the East ever taken from the West: it has given all things, Christianity included. In such matters, then, the East still maintained the lead which it had so long before given to the West. But how as to spiritual matters?

This is not the place to show that Brahminism, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism have all three arisen from the light of reason working upon the ancient and common traditions of the human race, under peculiar circumstances of time, place, and persons. It is enough to say that, with perhaps many imperfections and defects, they quite come up to our definition of Religion—the practical relation of man to God, in belief, worship, and morality. They may not be the best systems for expressing that relation in its most rational and perfect form. Mohammedanism may have its faults in its sensual and fatalistic twist; Buddhism, in its Pantheistic groundwork; and Brahminism in the multiplicity and absurdity of its subordinate deities. Still they sufficiently express that relation between man and God, which is the essence of religion.

Mohammedanism, vigorous and still spreading, acknowledges one sole and spiritual God and Creator, has a daily

spiritual worship, a (small) number of articles of faith divinely revealed, and a definite system of morality. Its rapid progress,* and its yet vigorous hold on its followers attest its stirring good qualities as a religion for certain localities and nations.

If the Buddhistic notion of God is degraded by Pantheism, it still holds the existence of a Supreme Being, has a series of teachings regarding God and man, a high destiny of perfectibility for man, a spiritual worship, and a system of morals embracing all that Christian morality teaches, and adding more in the way of abnegation. It also lays its veto on internal desires of sin, and commands forgiveness of injuries. So high does it stand as a religion, that Christians are even now trying to introduce its teaching into Europe and America. Its vast following is proof positive of its excellence.

Brahminism practically teaches the worship of many gods; but over them all it recognises the Supreme Creator of all,

* Christians attribute this to the sword, and to its indulging the passions of man. True or not,—and I could adduce facts to disprove both assertions,—I ask: Was no force ever used in the conversion of pagans to Christianity? What student of history will believe that, when a king and his thanes decided (frequently for the sake of a Christian wife) to be baptized, none but moral suasions and intellectual arguments were used to make their serfs follow their good example? Would "Wamba the son of Witless and Gurth the son of Beowulf, born thralls of Cedric," and the οἱ πολλοὶ whom they represent, be led into the Church by love and reason alone? If Mohammedanism has used force, so has Christianity, where it could. Thus of king Canute of Denmark (Breviary, 19th of January) history says, "That having attacked, in just wars, the neighbouring pagan nations, he compelled them to receive the true faith of Jesus Christ"; and Spain restored Christianity by the sword, and by expulsion;—to omit the Crusades. Even Buddhism and Brahminism have not quite clean hands in this matter. But Brahminism now does not even receive proselytes: one must be born a Hindoo, but cannot otherwise become one. It is centuries since Buddhism gave up the task of proselytizing. Even Mohammedanism shows little activity except in Africa, and there, almost driven to it by circumstances rather than of purpose intent. I wonder how Christianity would bear the strain, if these three religions carried out a persistent missionary crusade, such as it has against them! As to indulging the passions, those who care for this manage to do so under cover of every religion that I know—Christianity included.

—those gods included. It maintains a spiritual worship of God, daily prayer, and a high standard of morality, besides its articles of faith.

Thus it is evident that, notwithstanding their faults, these religions answer fully to our definition. They present a definite belief in God and articles of faith, prescribe a spiritual worship and daily prayer, lay down standards of personal holiness and love of God, dictate precise laws for the moral guidance of man. They all include expressly eight of the ten Christian and Jewish commandments. The Sabbath day is not kept holy—a mere positive law;—and the naming of God is not forbidden, as it is considered prayer, though it may have been necessary to restrain the inherent irreverence of the Jews.

Such, briefly, are the religions of the East which Christianity has vainly tried to convert, and from their allegiance to which it has found that their followers are not to be moved. For what has Christianity got to offer them which they do not possess already of their own? The doctrine of a Personal God, so enticing naturally to the God-less West? The Orientals all believe in one Supreme Being—the Maker of the universe. High ideas of the destiny of man? All these religions hold that man is not created for this world, but for heaven and God. A spiritual worship? That with daily prayer and mortification (*e.g.*, fasting) they all equally prescribe. A pure system of morality? They all profess the same principles and live under the same rules of conscience dictated by nature to man. A sufficient reward for virtue? They all teach a heaven for the just, and that God Himself is that final reward. How different is this state of affairs from that in the West, where the Barbarians were ignorant, besotted, fierce, bloodthirsty animals; and the Romans and Greeks were treacherous, lying, lewd, and corrupt; and both were God-less and heaven-less, without any ideas of personal holiness, spiritual worship, and pure morality!

What, then, can Christianity really offer for the accept-

ance of the East, which the East has not already? Only a system of dogmatic teaching on a large number of points, as revealed by God through Jesus Christ. Now, dogmatic teaching has had its interest with the speculative races of the West, which have "defined," and "distinguished," and "philosophized," and "anathematized" themselves into a large number of sects, each mutually calling all the others heretics, and other sweet names. But the more practical men of the East hold to only a few articles of faith, and very plain ones, and lay more stress on what has to be done than on what has to be believed. Dogmatism, therefore, is at a discount in the East; and when Christianity calls out that she has many articles of faith to teach to men, under penalty of eternal damnation, the unspeculative East goes its way on its ancestral lines of belief and practice, and refuses Christianity a hearing. This fairly represents the general attitude of all Orientals towards Christianity. They have had, for ages, their religions which have commended themselves to their reason, satisfied their needs, and proved themselves to be good: why should they wish to change them for a novelty offered to them with flighty rhetoric,—I say it without disrespect,—like a charlatan's nostrums? So they shake their heads and close their ears and go their way, without listening to the voice of the preacher, preach he never so wisely. Or they hand to the grocer, to wrap his wares in, the Bible or the tract they have received, which most of them cannot read if they would, and would not read if they could; and which those who condescended to read, would only sneer at, and not believe in. This is the attitude of the people in general towards the preaching and the literature of Christianity.

But there is more than this passive opposition to missionary efforts. Their learned men and teachers have not been idle. They have provided and circulated orally among the people replies, in their view, very telling against the Christian missionaries. In this, each religion goes, of course, on its own peculiar lines; and here follows what

each has taught its people in reply to the fundamental announcement of Christianity—the Divinity, Incarnation, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Buddhism (in scholastic language) simply teaches them to say, "*Transeat*. Be it as you say (and I am not sufficiently interested to inquire), how does Christianity affect me or Buddhism as a religion? Jesus Christ must have been either an impostor or an incarnation of Buddha himself, one of the many I am taught to believe in. If the former, I need not trouble about his doctrine; if the latter, his teaching cannot vary from that of the great Sakyamuni, and so long as I follow that I am safe. In neither case am I justified in even listening to what these new comers say. In my ancestral faith I will live and rest. This one, besides, allows the taking of life—the greatest of all crimes. It cannot possibly be the truth." From the Buddhist point of view, this reply is absolutely convincing and decisive.

Brahminism has a very similar answer to Christianity. "Incarnation of the Godhead, quotha? Certainly; many of them. If your Christianity is good because of one Incarnation, what think you of my religion, with nine Incarnations already effected, and a tenth yet to come? But yours must have been a local Incarnation, with which we Hindoos—the God-born—have nothing to do. It does not concern us. You say miracles attested his mission? Of course they did. Who but a fool will deny that an Incarnation can work miracles? Look at our Krishna. Did he not hold up a hill on his little finger, to save his milk-maids from a passing shower of rain? Go to Muttra, and the hill is nigh there to this day! So, of course, your Incarnation must also have worked miracles. I am glad to hear it, for it confirms what we are taught. But you see, your Incarnation is quite a foreign one; it took place on the other side of the *Kala Panee* (Black Water, or Sea), so with it we Hindoos have nothing to do." (Besides this reply, he, in his own mind, silently curses you for a *Gow-papi*—a sinner against the sacred

cow—*alias* a beef-eater :—How can aught but evil proceed from a cow-killer?) As Hindoos form not only a special religion, but also a special race, to them the fact of this Incarnation (which they do not even take the trouble to doubt) being a foreign one, out of India, away from the sacred rivers, unconnected with the sacred race, is its own condemnation. Thus are they secured against any temptation to examine Christianity.

Mohammedanism is fully armed for the conflict. "Son of God? Blasphemy! Has God a body? or a wife? that he should have a son? and in what possible sense can a spirit have a son? The fact is, that these poor Christians have got hold of a corrupted gospel: we know the truth. Jesus, of course, is a prophet; ay, a great prophet—peace and glory from God be on him! He taught God's truth to men, but they became unbelievers and wished to crucify him; then he hid himself, and the blinded fools crucified another in his stead. God has taken him to Himself till the time of Dajjál (Antichrist), whom he shall fight and conquer. He, before being taken away, prophesied the coming of our Apostle, Mohammed (on whom and his descendants be peace and the mercy and favour of God!), saying, 'And He will send you another to comfort you as He sent me; he will teach you all truth.' Such, ye true believers, is the real history of Jesus, which we know, but these Christians do not; and so they blaspheme a very great Prophet by making him equal to God, who is one, and has no equal. Four men have had special titles from God: Moses, the Light of God; Abraham, the Friend of God; Mohammed, the Apostle* of God; and Jesus, the Breath (Spirit) of God. Ye true believers! be ye followers of truth; and allow not these ill-informed men to lead you astray regarding the great Prophet, Jesus, son of Miriam, and Spirit of God." This, taken from the teaching of the

* *Rasûl*—he that is sent. In the West, this is wrongly translated Prophet. The profession of faith is, "There is no God but (one) God; and Mohammed is the Apostle (messenger) of God."

Koran regarding Jesus Christ, is in the mouths of all Mohammedans.

Now I do not pretend to judge whether these answers, prepared by these religions against Christianity, are or are not conclusive in themselves. I merely say, that they are given as a matter of fact; and that from their own point of view they are unanswerable, clear, conclusive. They effectually keep off all Orientals from even the slightest inclination to study or examine Christianity. They have their own religions, good, nay, excellent ones, which have sufficed to make their progenitors good in this world and (they hope) happy in the next. What was good enough for their forbears is good enough for them also, and shall be for their children after them.

So the East has thought, acted, and argued during these centuries of conflict with Christianity. So it goes on still; and, judging from the past and the present, so it will always go on in the future. Uninfluenced by the preaching of dogma, contented with their own, satisfied to walk in the footsteps of their ancestors, the East is sealed against Christianity in the future as it has been in the past. Individuals will, of course, change their religions; their children and those of the actual Christians will go on increasing with the natural propagation of the race. But as this increase is always in favour of the majorities, the disproportion will daily grow greater. While the total number of Christians in the world may be greater fifty years hence than it is now, the proportion of Christians to non-Christians will be as certainly less than it is now, as that proportion is now less than it was fifty years ago. The failure of the Christian missions of the East is certain, because of the fact that the East has regular systems of real religion which satisfy the people, while Christianity has nothing to offer them which they either have not already, or not having it, which they care to possess or even examine.

The real obstacle to the Christianization of the East is,

and has all along been, this fact, that real religions already exist there. This is, and has always been, an insurmountable obstacle in the way of conversion. New beliefs may arise and spread *in* or *from* a religion. They are only developments from within, as Arianism and Lutheranism in Christianity, Shiahism in Islam, or Shintooism in Buddhism. But no real Religion was ever subverted by any other religion. God-less idolatries and mythologies, and the superstitions and formless beliefs of savage tribes have been replaced by other forms of religion: as was done in Greece, Rome, Europe in general, Fiji and other islands, by Christianity; in Tartary and Africa by Mohammedanism. Wholesale massacre or expulsion may also replace one by another, as occurred to the Moors of Spain and the Zoroastrians of Persia. But I defy you to lay your finger on the map of the world or the page of history and say, Here such a religion replaced, by conversion, such another, which taught practically the real relation of man to God, and a pure morality. No such instance has ever taken place; and the failure of Mohammedanism in India* against Brahminism; and the complete failure of Buddhism to swamp Brahminism, and *vice versa*; and the repeated failures of Christianity successively against Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism, Brahminism, and Buddhism tend, I think, to prove that this is no accidental case, but a fact founded in human nature, the result of a general law, which no excellence in any religion can affect.

The failures of the past, which you are at last only beginning to see, should be the gauge of your future. It is not lack of earnestness or holiness or learning in your preachers, nor want of hard work and much money and many lives honestly spent, nor absence of innate goodness in Christianity, that has caused, and now causes, and will always cause it to fail in the East. It is the nature of

* The 80,000,000 Mohammedans in India are almost all descendants of invaders: only a microscopic part are converts or descendants of converts; and to get those, violence was used in the "good old times of the Moguls."

things, and the idiosyncrasy and circumstances of the Im-movable East, which ensure and perpetuate your failure. Yield then to the inevitable, the unconquerable. Give up the vain and futile attempt, and concentrate at home, and on your own people, your preachers and your wealth, and your energies. How does Christianity in Europe contrast with those religions of that East which you have tried in vain to uproot? Has the East millions of armed men daily trained (in your new Christian charity) in the best methods of slaughtering each other at a word, for an idea? Is drunkenness, except where you have introduced it, known in the East? Does unblushing vice publicly parade its streets, as yours? Do its prisons overflow with an habitually criminal class? Does it hunger and thirst after riches and deify gold, as does the West? Do Atheism, and Un-belief, and Blasphemy swagger through the East under the disguise of Science? Is religion, of whatever kind it may be, neglected and reviled there, as it is in France and Germany, and in London? I say, without fear of contradiction, that many times better in all these matters is the East without Christianity than the West with Christianity.*

Here, then, are the materials on which profitably, and hopefully, and perhaps successfully, you may pour out the ardour, zeal, energy, and wealth which for centuries you have been uselessly wasting where they are neither appreciated, nor needed, nor successful. You talk of "900 millions of heathens to be converted!" Your own heathens require conversion more than these; for most of them firmly profess and fervently practise religions, as good to them as Christianity is to you, which many of you have given up professing, and which very few practise. They decline to be "converted," if this is conversion, if this is Christianity. They point to your own millions of heathens

* I have no fault to find in Christianity itself as a religion. I speak only of its practice,—of itself as its followers have made it,—a shame and a reproach. In no other religion are belief and practice so completely and generally at variance.

at home, immersed in as great ignorance and plunged in far greater vice and crime. Sweep your own house first. Clean your own stables. Exterminate your own weeds. Cultivate your own garden. Till your own fields. Purify your own springs. When you have done all this, you will have some excuse to interfere with those who consider all their belongings, from a moral standpoint, to be in a far better state than yours : and so they evidently are in many things. Till you have made something more than nominal Christians, till you have a real and practical Christianity among yourselves, till you have no heathens and sinners left among yourselves, please to leave the far more moral and religious East alone, in its comparatively greater love of both religion and morality. Then, and not till then, you may try to convert the East, though the general law I have announced will even then ensure your failure. But till then remember your own maxim : Charity begins at home.

You will say, doubtless, that charity should not end at home, and will urge the command in Matthew xxviii. 19. I reply, that charity may, and should, go beyond home only when it has the power and the means for more than home requirements. But your requirements at home are too great to justify your going beyond it, especially as you thus absolutely lose in the East what might do some good in your own home.

As to the command of missionary labour, has it not been literally carried out? Has the religion not been taught, or at least announced, in every nation? If it has not succeeded, it is not for want of repeated trials. No one is to blame for the failure ; it is the result of a general law of human nature. Besides, where have you found that Christianity was meant to replace all other religions of the world? Its conversions have been limited strictly to a moiety of the Aryan race, to the extent almost of the Roman Empire, and the God-less beliefs it contained ; though the descendants of those converts have since passed into other

lands and continents. What proof have you that it was meant to go further and to replace any other real religion? You have placed your sacred Books in our hands, and after reading them, I do not find any texts of Scripture that declare Christianity to be destined to be the one sole religion of the world, and of all races of mankind. The "one fold and one Shepherd" in John x. 16, seems to refer to the world to come more than to this. That, however, is your business; we do not interfere with you; don't interfere with us.

That you should consider your religion the only good one, and wish to make it known as such to all others, is doubtless natural; and the East thanks you for your good will. But each Oriental thinks his own religion at least as good as yours, and his innate conservatism (as in the case of the gentleman with whom I began this paper) makes him keep faithfully to that of his ancestors. He declines to give up what he knows to be good and suitable, for the new and the untried. The sedate, solemn, sensible, immovable East takes no leaps in the dark.

ON THE CONCEPTION OF A FUTURE LIFE AMONG THE SEMITIC RACES:

WHENCE AND WHEN THE NOTION WAS RECEIVED.

LET us cherish no illusions: our knowledge of what the ancient Semitic peoples thought of a future state is very limited, and it is not at all probable that it will be increased by fresh discoveries. The writings in which allusions are found to such beliefs are few in number and the references brief; there is no reason to suppose that they will receive any additions or that the vague brevity which characterizes them will yield to explicit declarations. The Semitic races are too much attached to the realities of this life to ponder long over death and its possible consequences; it is an awe-inspiring mystery on which they have no desire to concentrate their thoughts, still less do they care to make it a matter of conversation; hence the obscurity of all Semitic ideas on the subject.

It is nevertheless possible, by considering their writings as a whole, to sketch an—incomplete no doubt but, in the main, truthful—outline of their professions of faith; and, by this means, we are enabled to reach the fountain-head of these beliefs, and from their genesis and evolution deduce some general ideas about the Semitic race. This does not relieve us, however, from the greatest circumspection in dealing with passages too often insisted on, with the object,—undoubtedly no unworthy one,—of proving the universality of a belief in a future life.

The scant information which we have been able to collect is scattered through a threefold series of texts, of various dates and origin. Although there is an interval

of several centuries between the oldest and the more recent of these documents, they contain an identity of general views which is truly astonishing. Some of these texts are of Assyrio-Babylonian origin (and these are the most ancient), others come to us from Hebraic, and the remainder from Phœnician sources.

DOCUMENTS OF ASSYRIO-BABYLONIAN ORIGIN.

We couple the terms Assyrian and Babylonian, although they are applied to two distinct races and civilizations, of which the more ancient is in no wise Semitic. But, in the actual state of our knowledge, it seems impossible to separate the Semitic from the non-Semitic elements, by whatever name we choose to call the latter. Nor, indeed, does this confusion affect the question from the point of view which we are considering. When, more than a year ago, we were collecting materials for these notes, these Assyrio-Babylonian documents certainly appeared to us of a nature to throw much light on the subject; but M. Jensen's learned work, published this very year, on the cosmology of the Babylonians * has destroyed this illusion by showing how much uncertainty still prevails where Assyriology is concerned.

All things duly considered, there are but two texts which enlighten us on the eschatological beliefs of the Assyrio-Babylonians: the legend of the descent of Ištar into Arâlu and the epopee of Izdhubar. Phrases which may be gleaned from other fragments, add nothing of importance to the little we find in these two passages, which have become classical. It is evident, however, that these texts are insufficient, not, indeed, to demonstrate that the Assyrio-Babylonians believed in a future state and the possibility of escape from Arâlu, but simply to give us an exact account of their notions of what may supervene after death. These legends, in fact, do not concern mankind, but divine

* P. Jensen: "Die Kosmologie der Babylonier. Strassburg, 1890.

or deified beings in no way subjected to the conditions of terrestrial existence.

It would, no doubt, be otherwise with regard to the first of these fragments, if the legend of Ištar were, as has been recently maintained,* in direct relation with the practice of the evocation of the dead. According to this interpretation, the last lines of our text (46 to 58 of the reverse side) would seem to indicate a man lamenting the death of his sister, and invoking the aid of a magician for the liberation of her spirit; and the magician telling him the tale of Ištar to convince him that Arâlu is not unsparing, and that it is possible to return from it. But this explanation does not command our assent; the obscure phrases which conclude the narrative should not be dissociated so completely from the context; and what confirms us in this opinion is, that in all probability the entire episode is included in the Izdhubar cycle.

The legend of Ištar is of too mythical a character to be of any real weight in questions such as the resurrection of the dead and the immortality of the soul. The fundamental idea of the myth is much more general than that of a personal resurrection; it treats of the resurrection, or rather of a re-animation, of nature in its entirety. All life ceases in the darkness of Arâlu; when Ištar and Tammuz, that is to say, the divinities which symbolize life and heat in their most powerful forms, are drawn into it, death is everywhere triumphant, outside Arâlu as within its boundaries. The absolute necessity and excellence of life are insisted on by the freeing of Ištar and Tammuz—a liberation exacted by the gods. The solar myth, that of the revolution of the terrestrial globe, that of the struggle of the earth and the sun with the fierce elements of winter and their final victory, the myth of love or sexual force making its laws obeyed by means of an irresistible inclination—all these are to be found in the legend of Ištar; a

* A. Jeremias : "Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode." Leipzig, 1887.

legend which could not possibly be contained within the narrow conception of the return of the spirit to the realms of light.

With this reservation, let us endeavour to deduce from the legend of Ištar the condition of human beings after death, as it could present itself to the Assyrio-Babylonian brain.

It is important to observe, at the outset of this article, that to the Assyrio-Babylonian, as well as to all others of Semitic race, the horizon of life was bounded by actual existence; this restriction of human activity to the concerns of this world is most striking among the ancient Arabs. The power of incantations, exorcisms, and other magic formulæ extends only to our present life; the living alone pray to gods and spirits, for it is only during terrestrial existence that their empire prevails and their wrath need be feared. Death, by extinguishing life, puts an end for ever to anxiety and pain; it is thus a negation of all real life. The gods are the gods of the living, and the Assyrio-Babylonian believes, with as blind a belief as that of the Hebrew, in the reality of temporal retribution: fidelity to the divine principle and virtue securing worldly happiness for those who embrace it, whilst impiety, vice, and crime bring down disease and sudden death on the guilty, on their descendants, etc. To minds filled with such convictions, the enigma of after-death loses the greater part of its importance; hence the rarity of investigations of the problem by the ancient Semitic races.

On the death of an individual his *êkimmu*,—that is, according to the most accurate translations, his shadow,—is detached from the corpse (*šalamtu*); but we prefer to reserve the word shadow, in the absence of a better term, for what represents the individual in the land of ghosts.

It is possible that at some anterior epoch, the *êkimmu* descended into *Arâlu*, like the *ka* of the Egyptians at the time when the *ka* alone was believed in, and when the distinction between the *baï* and the *khou* had not yet sprung into existence. The texts of which we are cogni-

sant refer to a period when anthropology had become confused and when the êkimmu may be assimilated to the ka of the Egyptians, which was contemporaneous with the bai and the khou.*

We read, in fact, in the epic of Izdhubar :

He reclineth on a couch (?)
Drinking pure water,
He who was killed in the battle.
Thou seest him and I see him.
His father and his mother support his head,
And his wife is by his side.
The one whose body (šalamtašu) lies in the fields,
Thou seest him and I see him ;
He whose êkimmu (êkimmašu) does not rest in the earth,
Whose êkimmu is cared for by no one,
Thou seest him and I see him.

From this fragment, which refers to the dead who have descended into Arâlu, it is evident that the êkimmu, which has remained on earth, is distinct from the shadow which has left it.

The fate of the êkimmu is closely bound up with that of the corpse : this was likewise the case with the ka of the Egyptians ; and particular care had to be taken of the remains of the deceased. It is of the utmost importance that the body should be buried, for on this depends the repose of the êkimmu. Conquerors, to aggravate the evils which they inflict on the vanquished, disinter the remains of their kings and scatter their bones : their êkimmu wander, and the peace of death is broken. Funeral rites were performed and libations offered by the side of the

* If our observations are well founded, the Semitic peoples, or at all events, some of them, must, at an early period, have entertained an idea of man's lot after death, bearing a faint resemblance to that which we find in Egypt : close to a corpse and bound to share its fate, is the double of the deceased individual, and his shadow is in the scheôl (*see infra*). But there is this essential difference between the two doctrines : the Egyptian believed that the superior essence of the man lived in the world to come, whilst the Semitic nations conceived, to speak accurately, no future existence for the inert shadow of the dead. We have, unfortunately, no documents showing the variations of the Semitic doctrine.

tombs in honour of the êkimmu—valuable evidence of the care of the survivors for the êkimmê of the deceased. In spite of the obscurity in which the scant information which we possess on these points is involved, it is clear beyond a doubt that the destiny of the êkimmu in the world of spirits was closely united to that of the corpse in the world of the living.

What becomes of the shadow, or, to be more accurate, of what remains of the deceased when the body has been buried and its êkimmu detached from it? It seems impossible to use greater precision in the terms, on account of the vagueness of our data. Where does this shadow go? To the meeting-place of the ghosts—to Arâlû. Where is Arâlû (a name of very obscure etymology) situated? In the interior of the globe, deep in the bowels of the earth. What is this Arâlû? It is,—

“The undiscover’d country from whose bourn
No traveller returns”

(iršit lâ târat), the land, the entrance to which indeed is manifest, but from which the exit is sought in vain; surrounded by seven walls, it is separated from the world of the living by the waters of a river difficult to cross. It is the house of darkness, whose inhabitants feed on dust and slime and mud, and whose only drink is the water of drains—characteristic expressions, denoting that where all real life has disappeared, all real nourishment is likewise absent. The shadows vegetate there in nudity. It is true that the legend of Ištar represents them dressed in feathers, if, indeed, we can rely on the meaning of the word Kappu (a wing); but even then it is probable that it was simply intended to convey an idea of the extreme lightness and airiness of the ghosts. Arâlû is the Kingdom of Allat and her husband Nergal; and it is here that flourish the demons of disease, among others Namtar (pestilence) and Ašakku (fever ?).*

* For the Assyrio-Babylonian divinities, see Sayce, “Lectures on the

To this region go all men indiscriminately, whether good or wicked ; no reward, no punishment awaits them there ; the day of retribution has gone by. It is the realm of forgetfulness : every moral notion is foreign to this Assyrio-Babylonian conception.

Is Arâlû really a hopeless prison ? or is it possible, after having once passed its seven portals, to return through them and again behold the light which shines upon the living world ? Now, the essential qualification of Arâlû is that of "the land from which there is no return" ; the expression recurs with comparative frequency in the small number of texts which allude to it ; we meet with it no less than seven times in the legend of Ištar alone. *A priori*, therefore, if it does not absolutely bar all further inquiry on the subject, it enables us to state most peremptorily that a return from the land from which there is no return can only be exceptional ; and the exception can only occur under circumstances entirely different from those affecting human destiny. So that we may presume an abnormal entrance into Arâlû corresponding to the abnormal departure. And this, in fact, is what we find. The only two instances which we have, in these legends of Ištar-Tammuz and of Izdhubar-Ea-bani, of personages who have entered into Arâlû and returned from it, comply with the conditions which we have formulated ; in the first case we are dealing with divinities, in the second with deified heroes. These exceptional resurrections, if resurrections they be, are vouchsafed to exceptional beings. The law of Arâlû has not been infringed ; the "land from which none return," has merely sent back the prey which was not destined to belong to it.

The question may here be asked : What is to be thought of the epithet given to certain gods of "the restorer of life" ? It is said of Marduk, for instance, that he "delights to bring the dead to life again" ; the same power is attri-

buted to the solar god Samas, to the goddess Gula, and to the god Nebo. It must be confessed that this attribution to different divinities of the privilege of enabling shadows to leave Arâlû, and of calling the deceased back to life, would undoubtedly imply a belief in the resurrection of the dead, and be a presumption of its widespread diffusion among the Assyrio-Babylonian populations, if it were certain that the epithets in question refer really to the power of raising the dead. But we have no grounds for any such assertion. In the fragments in which we meet with these attributes, they are found standing completely isolated, without any explanatory context; and if there was really any question of future life and personal immortality, it would be, not merely strange, but incomprehensible, to find no certain trace of such beliefs in the cuneiform inscriptions. If the interpretation which we are combating were the right one, the contrary would be the case; and far from suffering from an absolute want of documents, we should have but too many to choose from.

We should, perhaps, see no more in these attributes than a glorification of the healing power of the deity who recalls the moribund to life. Does not the Hebrew Psalmist, in extolling the Lord, use the expression: "Thou hast brought up my soul from the grave"? (Ps. xxx. 3, *יְהוָה הֶעֱלִית מִדְּשָׁאוֹל נַפְשִׁי*; Ps. lxxxvi. 13, *יְהוָה הֶעֱלִית נַפְשִׁי מִשְׁאוֹל* (תַּחֲתֵּיהֶּ). Do we not read in 1 Samuel ii. 6 (comp. Deut. xxxii. 39), the following words of another Psalmist: "The Lord killeth and maketh alive; He bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up" (*יְהוָה בֹּמִית וּמָתִיה מוֹרִיד שְׁאוֹל וְעֹלֵל*). All poetical expressions, which no more imply a formal and precise belief in the resurrection of the dead, than do the analogous cuneiform inscriptions.

That, among the Assyrio-Babylonians, as elsewhere, religious minds may have aspired, more or less vaguely, after a belief in a life to come, we shall certainly not think of denying; that certain statements, which may be found among the cuneiform inscriptions, betray a similar mental

condition, is indeed possible. But as for a text making, either directly or remotely, any positive allusion to the dogma of the resurrection of the dead, that, we are convinced, has yet to be discovered.

The very nature of Arâlû, which is devoid of moral characteristics, forbids us to assume in it any separate places of abode for the good and the wicked. Is it possible, by referring to passages or monuments other than the ones which have been quoted, to establish the existence of a heaven and a hell in the eschatology of the Assyrio-Babylonians? We think not.

It has been thought that the poem of Izdhubar reveals indubitable traces of an Elysium. But is there really, in this epopee, any question of a Paradise? Does not the description, which is relied on, rather point to an Olympus? The answer cannot for a moment be doubtful: an Olympus is intended. In fact, the happy abode* into which Izdhubar succeeds in penetrating,—a region in close proximity to the habitation of the gods,—is only occupied by the hero saved from the waters of the deluge. (At all events the Epic of Izdhubar mentions no other inhabitants of this retreat.) The text expressly says: "Formerly Pir-napištim was of human nature, now Pir-napištim and his wife must be like the gods." Whatever we may think, however, of the region where the Chaldean Noah dwells in everlasting felicity, it is quite clear that this apotheosis of the hero cannot be taken as a proof of the existence among the Assyrio-Babylonians, of a belief in the immortality of the soul; it is an exception, in all respects parallel to the raising into heaven of Enoch and Elijah among the Israelites. In other words, supposing certain thinkers to have aspired after a belief in immortality, they could only conceive it by making it depend on deification;

* It is to be regretted that several Assyriologists should have named this abode the island or fields of the blessed (*Insel, Gefilde der Seligen*). The appellation is inaccurate, and may lead into error.

unlimited duration of life was, to them, an attribute of divinity, which is the same thing as saying that they considered it to be incompatible with human nature. And this is what the phrase which we have quoted from the poem of Izdhubar expresses in the most precise way.

As to the bas-relief in the Clercq collection, said to represent the Assyrio-Babylonian hell and heaven, it appears to us,—being devoid of any explanatory inscription,—of too doubtful significance for it to be cited as corroborative evidence. The two first divisions certainly contain figures symbolizing the stars and the images of the seven celestial spirits or Igigi. But what do we see for certain in the third, and especially in the fourth? Is it positive that the last contains a representation of the Chaldean hell? *A fortiori*, is it possible to discern in it any indication of the abode reserved for the blessed? For my part, I should not dare to explain so enigmatic a monument.

To sum up, if the ghosts of the dead vegetate in Arâlû for a length of time undetermined in any of the writings which we possess, on the other hand, the idea of a real life after death is foreign to the Assyrio-Babylonians.

DOCUMENTS OF HEBRAIC ORIGIN.

We have more details on the beliefs of the ancient Hebrews, and we can distinguish in their development two fairly well-defined periods : that in which spirit worship and the evocation of the dead were the key-stones of their religion, and that in which they had become merely popular superstitions and practices resorted to in secret.

In the beginning, the religion of the Hebrews, like all other religions, was physical; and, in the multitude of spirits credited with influence in this world, those of the dead naturally took their place—hence the worship of the spirits of the dead, of which there remains but the faintest trace in the Old Testament. The only indisputable allusion to this worship is the text in the First Book of Samuel, chap. xxviii. 13, 14, where Saul bows himself to the ground

(וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה) before the "form" of Samuel, who ascended out of the earth as a god (אֱלֹהִים רָאִיתִי עָלַי מִדְּהַאָרֶץ); but this passage is of the greatest significance; it is not possible to exaggerate its bearing.

From the worship of the spirits of the dead, to their evocation is but a single step; and it was the more readily taken by the Israelites, as the necromantic arts were practised by the peoples with whom they were in daily contact.

A belief in the possibility of recalling to the earth the spirits of the dead did not necessarily involve, in the minds of these believers in animism, any faith in a future life, properly so called, however logical this deduction might be. A proof of this lies in the fact, that among the ancient Israelites necromancy was contemporaneous with the belief in *scheôl*, which is the very negation of an after-life. But take, as well, the classical account of the evocation of Samuel by Saul; we find in it testimony of the same flagrant contradiction which we have just pointed out. The first words that Samuel, ascending out of *scheôl*, addresses to Saul, are: "Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?" (1 Samuel xxviii. 15.) If the shadow lived a true life in *scheôl*, there could be no question of disquietude nor of painful awakening, because it is a call to action. The ancient belief in spirits and the evocation of the dead, although assuming a prolongation of existence beyond the grave, did not give rise, as a matter of fact, to any dogma regarding a life to come; and the reason was, that this notion had nothing moral in it, nor was it even specifically religious. And that explains the falling off in necromantic practices *pari passu* with the development of the Israelite religion; with the disappearance of these practices, all faith in the spirits of the dead vanished, leaving no trace of the authority it had exercised and, in especial, no germ of a belief in a future life. If any such hope had been included, in principle, in these gross deceits, something of it must have remained. The spiritualizing breath which swept

away these superstitions carried off all that they contained, because all in them was condemned.

The *scheôl* of the Hebrews corresponds to the *Arâlu* of the Assyrio-Babylonians. It appears from exegetical analyses that the etymology must be referred to the root *שעל*, to which the meaning of "to sink" or "descend" may be attributed, although *שְׂאוּל* is written with an *א*; this weakening of the *ע* into *א* is not a sufficient objection to this derivation; the fact that *שְׂאוּל* is frequently replaced by its synonym *בּוֹר* a pit, confirms this etymology. *Scheôl* is the hollow place into which one sinks (*יֵרֵד שְׂאוּלָה*, *יֵרֵד בּוֹר*).

What is this *Scheôl*? It is the abode of the *Rephâim*. What are the *Rephâim*? The ghosts of the dead. When man dies, and the vital spark which was in him, but which comes from God, returns to God who gave it (*Ecclesiastes*, xii. 7 : *הָרִיחַ תָּשׁוּב אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר נָתַנָּה*), there is detached from the corpse, which is placed in the ground, a sort of impalpable and invisible image, or double, or *ka*, which is called *רָפָה* (*רַפָּה* Ass. *rapû*) = weak, feeble, without strength; a word which, in the particular acceptation of names, is met with only in the plural, *רַפָּאִים*. This plural noun must be related to the word *תַּרְפִּים* (compare the Assyrian *tarpu* = weak, feeble), which probably designates the images of ancestors, or idols representing their manes—a relation which places in a striking light the close connection between the doctrine of *scheôl* on the one hand, and the spirit-worship and evocation of the dead on the other.

If the Hebrews take no particular care of the corpse, on account of the impurity accruing from its contact, they respect the grave; and from their point of view, which is indeed common to all Semitic races, it is needful to place the remains in some safe spot, in order that the repose of the deceased be not disturbed. They, too, establish a correlation between the destiny of the mortal coil, on this earth, and the fate of the shadow which is detached from it, in *scheôl*. *Ezekiel* (xxxii. 17 to 32) shows us warriors slain by the sword, that is to say, those to whom honourable

burial has been denied, cast down into the lowest depths of the pit of scheôl : בִּירְכֵי-בֹר *.

The shades descend into scheôl, situated in the "nether parts of the earth," and pass through its gates. No light penetrates into this desolate region; it is the valley of the shadow of death (צִלְמוֹת), that is to say, of opaque darkness (צִלְמוֹת), of silence, of forgetfulness, of nakedness, of sleep, of disorder, of ignorance, of physical, intellectual, and moral inactivity, of indefinite unconsciousness, into which are drawn all men, both good and bad—for retribution is limited to present life. After death there is no morality, no religion :

"For the grave cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee : they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth.

"The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day" (Isaiah xxxviii. 18, 19).

Scheôl is thus the region where all life has ceased. If the poet makes the ghosts move about and places words on their lips, this infraction of the laws of scheôl must be put down to the imagination of the writer, and not to any dogma. Scheôl is "the place where all the living are gathered together"; it is the land from which no man returns. Scheôl is greedy and insatiable, and the prey which it engulfs is for ever lost. יוֹרֵד שָׂאוֹל לֹא יֵעָלֶה לֹא-יָשׁוּב עוֹד לְבֵיתוֹ (Job vii. 9, 10).

Is escape from scheôl possible? Certainly not, according to the authorities we have quoted, and yet biblical texts give several instances of resurrection and ascension into heaven; but these exceptions do not turn the scales of the balance: the mythical and legendary character of the narratives in which they are found robs them of all power of conviction. God took unto himself the patriarch Enoch (לָקַח אֱתוֹ א'); Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven

* Ezekiel's poetical description must not be taken too literally; in it there is a constant confusion between scheôl and the grave; and the confusion of the wording undoubtedly corresponds to that of the thought.

(וַיַּעַל בַּסֵּעֶרָה הַשָּׁמַיִם). Elijah, Elisha, and even the bones of Elisha, effect resurrections. But what value can be attached, for our purposes, to these marvellous events, whose instigators are deified human beings?

Witness is borne to a second period in the development of the eschatological ideas of the Hebrews, by the efforts of some powerful thinkers to raise themselves to the conception and certainty of a future life. We put altogether aside those texts which seem to contain traces of vague hopes regarding immortality. The interpretation of these passages in an eschatological sense is seldom to be trusted, and it would be a mistake to accept as dogmatic statements, what are simply synonymous expressions brought about, as in 1 Samuel ii. 6, by the parallelism of Hebraic poetry. In the Book of Job—the date of which cannot unfortunately be fixed, although the character of its philosophy points to a recent period in the history of Hebrew literature,—the writer endeavours, in order to elude the contradictions of existence, to convince himself of the possibility of a future life. But the notion not only conflicts with the received dogmas, but is met by insurmountable difficulties; and he ends by an absolute submission to the unfathomable designs of God. He catches a glimpse of hope of future life; but, satisfied as to its impossibility, he falls back, in spite of himself, on the ancient doctrine of *scheöl* and temporal retribution:

“If a man die, shall he live again? all the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come,

“Thou shalt call, and I will answer thee: thou wilt have a desire to the work of thine hands.

“For now thou numberest my steps: dost thou not watch over my sin?

“My transgression is sealed up in a bag, and thou sewest up mine iniquity.

“And surely the mountain falling cometh to nought, and the rock is removed out of his place.

“The waters wear the stones: thou wastest away the

things which grow out of the dust of the earth; and thou destroyest the hope of man" (Job xiv. 14 to 19).

The author of Job was certainly not the only one who attempted to disburden his mind of the intolerable belief in *scheôl*; but notwithstanding constant protests, the Hebrew people adhered to this faith until about the second century before Christ.

DOCUMENTS OF PHENICIAN ORIGIN.

These documents, of which there are two, viz.: the inscriptions of Eschmun 'Azar, and of Tabnit, kings of Sidon, are of much more recent date than the monuments which we have hitherto considered, since they do not reach further back than the third century before Christ. The recommendations traced on the sarcophagi of the two princes, although very laconic, leave no room for doubt that, on the subject of after-death, the Phenicians had beliefs analogous to those of the Hebrews. In both the epitaphs, the living are expressly commanded to leave the sepulchres untouched, for fear of interrupting the peace enjoyed by the royal manes. The following sentence is repeated four times in the inscription of Eschmun 'Azar, with some slight variations of form: "Let there be no resting-place among the *Rephâim* for the man, even if he be of royal lineage, who ventures to open this chamber of repose, or remove the sarcophagus in which I am at rest, or raise a superstructure on this resting-place; and may he never be buried himself in a tomb" (l. 6-8: *אל יכן לם משכב את רפאם*). In the epitaph of Tabnit, we read three times, in various forms: "Let not any one who may come across this sarcophagus, break open my death-chamber; let him not disturb my repose" (l. 3-4: *ואל תונן*). And the author of the inscription concludes with the same threat as in the epitaph of Eschmun 'Azar: "Let there be no rest (for the profaner) among the *Rephâim*" (l. 8: *ומשכב את רפאם*).

It is difficult to read without a smile these recommendations and menaces placed in the mouths of princes who had

caused the mummies to be removed from the Egyptian sarcophagi, which they had appropriated in order that, after death, their own remains should be deposited in them.

It is evident from these texts that the Phenicians believed in a retreat where the Rephâim were plunged in complete and indefinite tranquillity, and that they considered it a matter of supreme importance for the peace of the manes that the corpse should remain undisturbed in the tomb where it was buried.*

To sum up (and keeping always in view certain differences of detail, which may be detected in the eschatological beliefs of the Assyrio-Babylonians, Hebrews, and Phenicians), we are able to establish a remarkable unity of faith in these three groups of Semitic or Semiticized nations. According to the texts in our possession,—texts incomplete no doubt, but furnishing sufficient data for us to form an opinion,—the ancient Semitic races did not, in their conceptions of what may occur after death, get beyond the childish circle of ideas suggested by the shadow cast on the earth by man's form. This shadow pertaining to the substance, for, though detached from it, it never quits the body of which it is, so to speak, the double (but a double impalpable and powerless, without moral or any other character whatever), offered to men living in remote times an explanation of the fate of human beings after death. A corpse without its accompanying shade, was as inconceivable to them as Peter Schlemihl, the shadowless man, is to us. But when the

* We are not now speaking of the Arabs ; we have hardly any information regarding their eschatological beliefs before or at the beginning of our era. But we know that the Nabateians used to have recommendations and threats engraved on their vaults. We read in the second inscription of Medâin-Salih (A. D. 2.) re-copied by Doughty: "Dusares and Martaba and Allat . . . and Menât and Keis curse the man who should sell this vault, or buy it, or mortgage it, or give it away, or withdraw the bodies from it," etc. No. 17 of the same collection is much more characteristic ; it runs : "Let not their tomb be opened for all eternity" (רִי לֹא יִחַפְּחָה עֲלֵיהֶם לְעֹלָם).

According to the Gineyeritic inscriptions, the worship of deified ancestors prevailed in Yemen.

corpse had been buried and hidden from sight and slowly destroyed by corruption, or disintegrated and dispersed, the shadow or ghost took its flight to Scheôl. It was indeed believed that it vegetated there inertly, but life was denied to it, because the shadow cast by the living, of which the shade of the dead is merely the copy and continuation, is devoid of conscious existence. The belief in Scheôl, far from implying any faith in eternal life, was, on the contrary, its very negation. We may add, that the doctrine of scheôl, notwithstanding its Semitic form, is founded on an idea by no means confined to the Semitic races, but common to the superstitions and philosophy of early human generations.

The Semitic races did not always remain faithful to the doctrine of Scheôl; and it was in Israel that the first change manifested itself. In the second century before our era, belief in the resurrection of the dead, in an eternal life, and in future punishment began to spread among the Jews; the earliest writing in which the new doctrines appear is the Book of Daniel, whose author was contemporary with Antiochus Epiphanes and the national rising of the year 167; and the immortality of the soul is taught in the Wisdom of Solomon, the composition of which is set down between the years 150 and 50 B.C. From this period, the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul are sometimes denied (Ecclesiasticus, the Sadducees, etc.) or doubted (Ecclesiastes), but the more often asserted in current writings, professed by religious sects and parties (Essenians, Pharisees), and, in the end, universally credited throughout the Jewish world. Later on they penetrate through Judaism and Christianity to the Arabs, among whom antiquated superstitions regarding after-death long prevailed.* Finally, when the Islamite reformation has been preached and accepted, it may be said that all the Semitic peoples believe in a future life.

* See Wellhausen : "*Reste Arabischen Heidentumes.*" Berlin, 1887.

To what cause must we trace this radical change? To what influences must we attribute it?

Can we, as some have thought, look upon this complete transformation as a simple evolution out of the ancient dogma of *scheôl*? Did Hebraism contain the germs of a new faith so contradictory to the old one?

It is certain that every religion, for the very reason that it is a religion, contains, in a latent state, the principles of a reformation of its dogmata, however simple the latter may be. The idea of a future life is, in theory, opposed to no religion. Religion is the affirmation and certainty of the divine, that is to say, of what is beyond the perception of the senses; now, life-to-come is but a particular form of this supernatural conception, of which the idea of God is the most adequate expression. We must beware, therefore, of denying that *a priori* an evolution out of the dogma of *scheôl* may have been effected in the religion of Israel and in the other Semitic religions. But this does not prove that any such evolution really took place.

On the contrary, what strikes us in the history of the religion of Israel, is the very date at which the notions of resurrection and immortality make their appearance. This date, which is important in the highest degree, gives us the solution of the problem.

In the second century before our era, Palestine had just been subjected to Alexander and the Græco-oriental monarchies, which issued from the Macedonian empire; and before that, it had bent beneath the yoke of Persia.

Is it in Mazdeism, which in fact exercised a perceptible influence in the religious development of Israel, that we must seek the origin of the Jewish belief in the resurrection of the body? The question cannot be answered, as it is not possible to determine the epoch when this doctrine found its way into the religion of the Avesta.

Some texts of the Avesta, but they are very few in number, assert the doctrine of the resurrection; no one is unaware, however, of the exceeding difficulty of fixing,

even approximately, the dates of the different parts of the sacred Mazdean books. It is possible that the belief in the resurrection of the body may be of great antiquity among the worshippers of Ahura-Mazda; but we should be at a loss to prove it, for the testimony of Herodotus and of Theopompus falls far short of establishing the profession, much less the universality, of this belief, either in the times of Darius or even in those of Alexander. We are thus obliged, until enlightened by further information, to suspend our judgment on the point.

In passing from Mazdeism to Hellenism, we find ourselves on much firmer ground. Greek civilization had, indeed, an astonishing ascendancy over Judaism; and its material and moral influence was so great that we may justly consider Christianity as the resultant of the combination of the religious Semitic with the spiritualistic Greek current. Now, it cannot be contested that the idea of the immortality of the soul is, in Judaism, a direct importation from the philosophy of the Greeks. The Wisdom of Solomon, which is the first work of Israelite origin that proclaims this doctrine, belongs to the Græco-Jewish literature resulting from the important literary and philosophical movement created by the Septuagint, which was written between the third and second centuries before Christ, under the direct influence of Hellenism.

As to the resurrection of the body, it may be considered as merely a different reading of the Platonic dogma of the immortality of the soul; it is, if we may so express it, a Greek thought in Judaic garb. And we have in it a striking instance of that inward working of Semitic genius, by which it was fancied that the evolution of the Jewish eschatology in the second century could be explained. The dogma of the immortality of the soul is founded on a dualism—the absolute distinction between the body and the soul—which is quite foreign to the anthropology of the Semitic races. Plato, and after him, Platonic Judaism, conceived the soul as an immaterial principle, locked up within

the body, and liberated from its prison by the destruction of its mortal envelope. The persistence of life, and its unlimited duration, could, therefore, only present itself to their minds in the form of the immortality of the immaterial principle in the human person.

But the soul was inseparable from the body, to the Jew opposed to Hellenism; for, though subject, in spite of himself—nay, unwittingly—to the emancipating and liberal action of the Greek philosophy, he retained with all the force of his will and of his narrow patriotism as much as he could of the spiritual inheritance of his ancestors. Like the Hebrew, he believed in the unity of the human being and in the materiality of his soul (רוּחַ, נֶפֶשׁ); he was convinced of the truth of the formula of the תּוֹרָה: "The soul of the flesh is in the blood" (Leviticus xvii. 11: כִּי נֶפֶשׁ בַּדָּם הִוא). "The blood is the soul" (Deuteronomy xii. 23: כִּי הַדָּם הִוא הַנֶּפֶשׁ). It is evident that with such an anthropological conception there could be no question of the immortality of the soul, except as a resurrection of the entire individual, body and soul. It is, moreover, in this sense that the great prophets of Israel had, in their poetic visions, raised up the dead of times gone by (Isaiah xxvi. 19; Ezekiel xxxvii. 4-10). Thus the trust in a life-to-come, loudly asserted by Greek philosophy, became popular in Israel in two different but closely related forms, that of the immortality of the soul, and that of the resurrection of the body.

This, in our opinion, is the only source open to historical proof, to which the introduction among the Semitic peoples of the belief in a future life can, at present, be traced. It will ever be the glory of the Jewish race, to have been, in this memorable circumstance, the stepping-stone between the Aryan and the Semitic worlds, and to have adapted to the genius of the Semitic East, the sovereign consolation for the illusions and sufferings of this life.

In the domain of religion, as elsewhere, the Semitic races have been less admirable for creative power than for the

force and fire of their convictions. Among them, inspiration is often slow ; often, too, it has to be borrowed from nations gifted with more inventive genius ; but it cannot be denied that few races in the world have shown as much ardour as they have done in believing what they have believed and in living on the divine as they have lived on it.

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ASIATIC ARCHITECTURE IN POLYNESIA.

THE following pages are the outcome of observations made by my late brother, Mr. Handley Bathurst Sterndale, who spent many years in exploring the Oceanic group. He contributed much to the Australian press, something to the Royal Geographical Society, and was requested by the Government of New Zealand to draw up a report on the South Sea islands, which was published in one of their Blue Books, and from which I notice that a recent writer has drawn, *verbatim*, much inspiration.

In addition to the pen of a ready writer, he possessed much skill as an artist; and some of his drawings,—executed during a long residence on one of the remote islands,—are marvels of delicacy in finish, although they were drawn by sharpened bullets, and worked up by pens of fish-bones and tinted by the sepia taken fresh from the cuttle-fish. He left also seventeen small books of information concerning Polynesia in general, but Samoa in particular, written closely on pages five inches square, composed of scraps of paper floated from a wreck, which he had pieced and gummed together.

He had great influence among the natives with whom he lived, having the knack of attaching them to himself by strong bonds of friendship; and I was told recently by the captain of a steamer trading in the South Seas, that in certain places the name of "Tanali," which was their rendering of Handley, is still woven into the songs of the people.

He was particularly interested in the prehistoric architecture of the islands, and left numerous illustrations of cyclopean ruins at various places, and also of cromlechs similar to those found by myself in Central India.

The theory that these islands were peopled by two races

of Asiatics is a commonly accepted one, to which of course he lays no claim; and his observations are merely corroborative, and of value as being recorded by one who had travelled extensively, not only in Polynesia, but in those parts of South America which were likewise affected by the Asiatic migration. He says:—

“It was to me a question of the deepest interest. One reason why the remarkable architectural remains existing in the many islands of the Pacific have as yet attracted so little attention, has been the prevailing idea of their comparatively recent construction; combined with the fact that very few of them have been examined by such travellers as have studied the architecture and economy of primitive races; thus the few who have seen them have commonly attributed to them an erroneous origin, or otherwise have believed them to be the work of existing races; even as Dumont d’Urville, in his description of some of the great ruins on the *Seniavines*, calls them a fortified city of Spanish buccaneers—a mistake, of the absurdity of which (although to a certain extent justified by corroborative circumstances) a more careful survey of the locality would have convinced him.

The early people of the Carolines were builders of cyclopean towers and pyramids; in fact, they are still very skilful in building great walls of rude stone. Structures of this kind are to be found in intermediate isles in the track of this migration. The idea of attaching a dwelling or place of worship to a cavern’s mouth, corresponds to the plan of existing ruins in the North Pacific, as at *Ponapa* and *Lele*; at the latter place one still in use as a temple having been erected across and immediately over the entrance of a subterraneous passage of great extent, to which access is afforded by steps descending through the foundation. In the case of buildings erected for religious purposes in these seas, caverns were frequent. There is said to be one in the old *Marai* of Raiatea, of which the entrance is known to but few (if now any), and has been carefully concealed.

I am of opinion that these isles have been anciently populated by two distinct tribes from the North-West Pacific, one of them, a people industrious and fierce, builders of strongholds for purposes of defence, and of edifices for the celebration of religious mysteries ; the other, a family of barbarians, milder and more indolent, acknowledging neither gods, priests, nor kings, having no idea of subjection to invisible powers or conception of the necessity of worship, having no cares beyond the wants of the body—sensual, voluptuous, and proud, but withal valiant, orderly, and polite, exhibiting a remarkable sense of propriety and many generous sentiments. Many men of science suppose that all the great islands of the Pacific, and many of the smaller ones, were first inhabited by cannibal Papuans ; and that from admixture with them did the Malayo-Polynesians derive their man-eating propensities. This I imagine to be an error. As well might one say that the aboriginal Mexicans contracted their anthropophagy from the Botocudos, who may be regarded as the American prototypes of the Papuan. But I perceive sufficient evidence to convince myself that the copper-coloured man-eaters of the Pacific brought this predilection for devouring their kind from the continent of Asia, although, in whatsoever isles they have amalgamated with the Papuans there have their evil inclinations become enormously aggravated—forasmuch as we see that where such mixture has taken place, there cannibalism and devilry are paramount. Take for instance Fiji, where the inhabitants have exceeded in horrible depravity even the vilest of their sable predecessors. But wherever, throughout the Pacific, the copper-coloured races have been found unmixed with the black, (I do not include the New Zealanders, who may or may not have a tincture of Papuan blood,) we perceive them to have been influenced by better instincts, exercising both towards one another and to strangers a certain degree of hospitality, frequently of the most disinterested nature, friendliness in their social relations with neighbouring isles and villages, compassion for the helpless

and unfortunate, family affection and decency in some respects, especially in the disposal of the dead—clouded, however, in some instances by cupidity and treachery, as in the case of the Tongese, whom Cook, in his ignorance of their real character and intentions toward himself, misnamed the *Friendly* Islanders; or cannibalism, as was the usage of the Rarotongans and Marquesans, or hideous vices such as were practised by the Hawaiians and Tahitians. But, as far as is actually known, none of them were man-eaters from morbid appetite, as is proved by the fact that among such of them as were cannibals, it was only upon certain occasions that they exhibited this propensity; none were slain among them for food alone. The bodies of enemies killed in war, or victims sacrificed to idols, furnished the feast, of which only certain of the initiated, as warriors and priests, were allowed to partake. It is said that in Tahiti the heart and liver were the portion of the latter; the eyes were given to the king, as was expressed in one of his titles of honour, "*ai mata*," the eater of the eyes.

However, to return to the architects of the Pacific Isles. The conclusions I arrive at are as follows: that although many of the Pacific Isles, especially the coral atolls, have been peopled by accidental castaways, the settlement of the great mountain groups was effected by organized migrations of savage navigators, sailing, in some instances, in fleets, fighting their way from land to land, and carrying with them their families, household gods, and the seeds of plants and trees; that these expeditions mainly originated in three causes: famine, the result of over-population,—war, in which the defeated party had frequently no choice but between the unknown sea and the oven of the ogre,—and volcanic convulsions, which rendered their native isles unpleasant to abide in.

Possibly on many islands it came to be regarded as the duty and destiny of large sections of the community to depart in periodical exodus in search of new lands. The copper-coloured autochthones of Eastern Asia,—a race

unacquainted with metals, who tattooed their bodies, and recognised the existence of evil spirits,—whose stone weapons are still found, and whose descendants still exist in mountainous localities difficult of access,—were probably driven out by migrations of Turanians, and established themselves in the Malayan isles, driving or being driven out by the primeval Papuans and spreading in the course of ages to the Caroline group, forming the progenitors of the Palaos, Barbudos, Hombres Blancos, and other families of gentle and hospitable barbarians visited in the early part of the 16th century by Diego de Roches, Saavedra, and Villalobos ; that there they encountered or were followed by another exodus of a kindred race by Formosa and the Ladrones—a race of Asiatics ferocious and pugnacious in the extreme, possessing some institutions and organizations, such as vassalage to kings, and a religion the product of priestcraft and diabolical superstitions; cannibals also, from whatever motive, and cyclopean builders on a monstrous scale. That the milder race came first, might be inferred from their having no gods, which presupposes the greater antiquity ; that the second race were cannibals is to be gathered from Caroline tradition ; that they came by Formosa, from Chinese tradition and from what is known of the ferocious savages who still inhabit the eastern half of that island. That they were the cyclopean builders, for the reason that their remains are said to begin in Formosa, and are seen to extend down the Ladrones and eastern Carolines, missing the western portion of that group. That their wars were frequent and destructive seems most probable from the style of their castles and strongholds, some of them being built upon the escarpments of steep hills rendered still more inaccessible by art, others being surrounded by enormous trenches or canals lined with stone walls, into which the waters of rivers or tides of the sea were admitted. In some of them are to be seen covered sally-ports and subterraneous galleries of singular construction, all pointing to the conclusion that war with them was the business of life.

From the great extent and importance of these works, many islands appear to have been in a perpetual state of siege, as is the case in *Hogoleu*. This is an immense coral atoll, 130 miles in circumference, having four entrance passages. On the reef and within it are seventy islands, four of which, near the middle, are high basaltic masses about thirty miles each in circumference, magnificently fertile, yielding spontaneously many valuable products, situated in the midst of a rock-bound lake ninety miles long by half that width. This unknown ocean paradise has been for ages an arena of combat between two hostile races, one copper-coloured, inhabiting the two western of the great interior isles, the other upon the two eastern, a darker people with long straight hair. The two tribes are supposed to number over 20,000. In the *Seniavines* particularly are evidences of many generations of strife, as at *Lelé*. Here a volcanic island has been scarped and walled to the summit, while on the neighbouring shore is a wilderness of ruinous castles, the walls in some cases 12 feet thick, and from 30 to 40 feet in height. They are in the form of parallelograms 200 feet by 100 feet, some very much larger. Many of them are erected upon islands entirely artificial, surrounded by canals lined with stone, crossing each other at right angles, into which the tide flows. It was this place which *Dumont d'Urville* supposed to have been a fortified settlement of Spanish buccaneers. But he was mistaken, as others have been who have seen these ruins, but have not been able to examine them thoroughly and ascertain their vast extent, in consequence of the hostility of the natives to inquisitive strangers who have at any time sought to investigate these remains, and the positive injunctions of the late piratical king "*Keru*," that such examinations should not be permitted. *D'Urville* was likewise in error in supposing the huge stones of which these buildings are constructed to have been squared by art and brought to this place in ships from some distant land; they are prismatic basalts, quarried

in the interior of the island of *Ualan*, where they abound, and, according to native traditions, were brought from the mainland on rafts, the larger blocks being raised into their places by levers and skids. That these people were greatly impressed with their religion is evident from the architecture of their temples—immense quadrangular paved enclosures surrounded by lofty walls containing within them terraces, pyramids, and frequently artificial caverns and subterraneous passages. Their plan is precisely identical with that of similar remains in Guatemala and Costa Rica; it is also unmistakably the grand original of which all the *Morais*, great and small, of the Hawaiian, Marquesan, Tahitian, and other isles of the South Pacific have been rude imitations.

Some of these structures were mausolea as well as temples. They are spoken of by the present race of natives as the sepulchres of the ancient deities, whom they called *Anii*, a word which is found with modifications of accent in every language of copper-coloured Polynesia. "*Anii*," "*Arii*," "*Ariki*," signifying lords, rulers, kings, gods. In the language of all these copper-coloured tribes the consonants H and S, T and K, M, R, L and F, are used, disused, or transposed in a most arbitrary manner—thus *Samoa*, *Hamo*a; *Savaii*, *Havaii*, *Hawaiki*; *Ura*, *Kura*; *Tapituca*, *Kasikuca*; and so on to infinity.

We have so far dwelt upon the defensive architecture of the copper-coloured races. Now I turn to my brother's notes regarding certain sepulchral and religious remains found by him.

Perhaps the earliest form with which we are acquainted, is one which is familiar to us in northern Europe, and which I myself have found in Central India, the cromlech, or kistvaen. He writes:—

"Here is an account of a tumulus (one of three, and all alike) which I lately opened at *Fararanga* (Penrhyn's Island). Within a large conical mound of gravel, overgrown with grass and appearing very ancient, was a stone cist, formed

of four great smooth slabs of hard coral, perfectly square, and about a foot thick, with a similar large overlying slab for a cover. Within the cist was a layer of fine white pebbles containing the skull and bones of a man. Beneath the skull lay a pearl oyster, very large, and hollow like a bowl; beside the bones lay an axe, seemingly of basalt. The cist was placed exactly east and west; the feet of the skeleton westward. In this interment the pearl shell under the head was a peculiar feature; the same has been noticed in the case of skeletons found at Pitcairn's Island. The axe of basalt was remarkable on a coral atoll, but not unaccountable. I have dug up such axes upon several coral *motus* in this latitude. I imagine them to have been the property of savages who had wandered away from the islands near the equator (in fact, local traditions bear witness to their having done so), where basaltic stones are obtained from the drift wood, attached to the roots of great trees which are carried thither by the equatorial current."

The above description agrees marvellously with the account of some exhumations in the Hebrides and on the western coast of Scotland, reported by Mr. I. S. Phéné (*Transactions British Association*, 1870). The slabs, the layer of fine white pebbles, and the position of the skeletons are identical.

I now proceed to the description of a more imposing form of burying-place. My brother was exploring the mountain ranges of Upolu, which was at that time, as it has been even recently, the theatre of a sanguinary war between rival factions of Samoans. He was on such good terms with both sides that he was enabled to pass from one war party to another, being hospitably received on both sides, and witnessed one of their engagements. These last took place chiefly on the low lands; and passing through the ranks of the combatants he found himself soon in a wild and desolate region, little, if ever, visited by the natives; but where, amid the solitude of nature, he was

confronted by the stupendous remains of those cyclopean builders of that mysterious energetic race that preceded the more voluptuous Samoan of the present day.

He describes the scenery on the way up as grand and magnificent, the timber in places being enormous, with waterfalls and huge crevasses, and in one place a remarkable circle of Druidical stones.

"There was no path, although in places I could perceive that there had in former times been one, several crevasses being artificially bridged over with causeways of rude construction. Everywhere were apparent the tracks of wild swine, some of the footprints being of large size. Before long I was brought to a standstill by one of these creatures in a disagreeable manner. A great sow having young ones under a stone, disputed the passage with ferocious determination. I had no wish to waste powder on the poor beast, and would have avoided falling out with her, but she was minded not to let me go at any price; and I, having no time to spare, despatched her with several pistol balls. I much regretted this unhappy necessity, and wished the poor fighting men in the forest below could have had the carcase. However, I cut out the most part of the ham, rolled it in leaves, and put it in my haversack for provender. Hearing the squeaking of her bereaved progeny, I looked into the hole, but could not see whether the creatures were big enough to live without their mother.

"By previous observations I had determined the position of a lofty spur (or radius from a great volcanic centre) which, on undertaking the journey, I had proposed to myself to ascend, in the hope of thereby reaching the summit of the great interior range at a point much to the eastward of where it had been accustomed to be crossed by the natives. Looking in that direction, I perceived this ridge separated from me by a broad and dangerous-looking ravine with a narrow cañon (or chasm with perpendicular sides) in the bottom. Hazardous as was the

appearance of this valley, I had to attempt it, and scrambling down to the brink of the crevasse which constituted its most inaccessible feature, I found, after some search, a fallen tree, whereby I effected the passage. Beneath me was a torrent flowing in darkness over a bed of black lava as smooth as glass. I knew this to be one of the head waters of a river called the *Vai-vasa*, which presents the singular phenomenon of exhibiting some miles inland a volume of water more than double in quantity to that which is visible in its bed where it disgorges itself into the sea, the remainder being absorbed by subterranean channels.

About 200 feet above me on the opposite side I observed the mouth of a rift or gully opening towards me, and seeming by its aspect to have been produced by an earthquake or some such cause. Having with great labour and with some risk succeeded in reaching the crown of the ridge at some distance below that point, I soon came to the edge of the strange-looking crack. There was no way of crossing it except by sliding over fallen boulders to the bottom, and in the same manner ascending the opposite side, where was an opening between the rocks, just wide enough for a man to pass through. As I believed that the end of this gully, which ran at right angles to the direction of the range, might afford me a prospect of the next valley to the eastward, I proceeded in that direction along the bottom; but had not gone far when I perceived to my surprise that it was not a natural fissure, as I had supposed, but a great fosse formed by the hands of man, being in some places excavated, in others built up at the sides; and that which was farthest from me (or next to the rise of the hill) had been still more heightened by a parapet wall. At the far end was nothing to be seen but a perpendicular cliff and the inaccessible face of the opposite mountain. Returning to the spot at which I entered, I climbed up the other side of the gully and passed through the narrow gap I had previously noticed, when my astonishment increased on behold-

ing before me, upon a level space of limited area, a truncated conical structure or 'Heidenmauer' of such huge dimensions as must have required the labour of a great multitude to construct. So little did I expect in this neighbourhood to meet with any example of human architecture, and so rudely monstrous was the appearance of this cyclopean building, that from its peculiar form, and from the vegetation with which it was overgrown, I might have passed it by, supposing it to have been a volcanic hillock, had not my attention been attracted by the stone-work of the fosse. I hastened to ascend it. It was about twenty feet high by one hundred in diameter. It was circular with straight sides; the lower tiers of stone were very large, they were lava blocks, some of which would weigh at least a ton, which must have been rolled or moved on skids to their places. They were laid in courses; and in two places near the top seemed to have been entrances to the inside, as in one appeared a low cave choked with rocks and tree roots. If there had indeed been chambers within, they were probably narrow and still existing, as there was no sign of depression on the crown of the work, which was flat and covered with flat stones, among which grew both trees and shrubs. It is likely that it was not in itself intended as a place of defence, but rather as a base or platform upon which some building of importance, perhaps of timber, had been erected, no doubt in the centre of a village, as many foundations of a few feet high were near it. The fosse, when unbroken and its inner wall entire, was probably crossed by a foot-bridge, to be withdrawn on the approach of an enemy; and the little gap, by which I had entered, closed, so that this must have been a place of great security. The Samoan natives, as far as I have been able to learn, have no tradition of what people inhabited this mountain fastness. At the upper end of the plateau was a broken reservoir, which had been fed from springs by a stone channel. I followed the course of the brook for a few hundred yards until I found it to disappear in a sheet

of spray over the ledge of a frightful precipice. No food-bearing trees were to be found here. There could not have been more than a few acres (perhaps twenty) in the whole plateau. The mystery was, what the people could have lived upon. They could not have been at peace with their neighbours, or whence the necessity for these strong defences. They must have been numerous, from their works which remain.

"The path was paved and plainly visible. Beyond the springs the ridge became steep and narrow for a short distance, and then widened out into another flat. Here were a great number of 'cairns' of stone, apparently graves disposed in rows among huge trees, the uplifting roots of which had overturned and destroyed very many of them. There was one great Banyan tree which I approached, and perceiving a cavity, entered. The darkness was profound. Tall creepers, which twined themselves about the columned trunks and lay in masses upon the summit of this giant tree, trailed in waving festoons on every side, and excluded even the faintest glimmer of the feeble twilight which prevailed in the sombre forest. I kindled a flame, and explored the interior. Some large bats flew out from an inner chamber, or cell, about 10 feet square. The floor was of flat stones, the walls of enormous blocks of the same, placed on end; the roof, of intertwined trunks of the Banyan, which had grown together into a solid arch. In the centre was a cairn, or rather a cromlech, about four feet high, formed of several stones, arranged in a triangle with a great flat slab on the top. Upon it was what appeared to be another small stone, but which on examination turned out to be a great conch shell, white with age, and incrustated with moss and dead animalculæ. The atmosphere of this vault was heavy and oppressive, the light burned with difficulty, and the smoke was unable to rise, but rolled low down out of the entrance in a dense serpentine volume. A great *koviu*, or land crab (*Birgus latro*), sat perched upon an angle of the wall, regarding me sideways with a look of great malignity as from

time to time he struck his bony claw with the sound of a hammer on the stone, like some sinister spirit-rapper holding communion with the manes of the departed.

“‘And his eyes had all the seeming
Of a demon that was dreaming,
And the lamplight o’er him streaming
Cast his shadow on the floor.’

“Now, what manner of men could have inhabited the stronghold below and have been laid to rest in this woodland necropolis? For the reception of what noble corpse had they constructed this ancient sepulchre? Its antiquity was manifestly great, from the Banyan having grown around and over it. The enclosure had first been erected without a roof, the tree (perhaps purposely planted), whose age was beyond estimation, had afterwards enveloped and preserved it. Nay, it would even have altogether and for ever enclosed it in its hollow base, had it not been that several of the great slabs which formed the entrance had been forced together at the top, and so retained a passage. (I have seen idol temples in the East so grown over by Banyan trees which are said to be older than the Mahomedan conquest.) That this was the tomb of a man of authority among his tribe there could be no doubt, for they had not interred him under a simple cairn, like his fellows—there had been art and much labour in the manner of his burial. I am well convinced that these remains were the work of a people anterior to the existing race of Samoans. Their origin, like that of many other remarkable relics and ruins in the Pacific, is a part of the great mystery of the Isles, *i.e.*, of the early distribution of man throughout the Polynesian archipelagos. I much regretted that I had neither leisure nor appliances to dig in this place for skulls, so as to have them submitted for examination to some man of science (perhaps some future traveller may act upon this suggestion). Being the first civilized man who had been privileged to examine this singular mausoleum, I inscribed my name (as is the custom of *les touristes anglais*) upon a conspicuous place;

and paying my respects to the great crab, who, like a guardian gnome, still kept his sullen vigil, I returned to the outer world.

"Dark as was the cave from whence I had emerged, the forest was scarcely more cheerful in its aspect. All the light which prevailed was a sort of misty gloaming, dying away into the obscurity of a 'pillared shade,' but of which the hoary trunk of some great *maridi* or *mamala* tree stood forth here and there like a dungeon column

" 'Massy and gray,
Dim with a dull imprisoned ray.'

"And I stumbled among graves, some huge tumuli, others, but three or four stones. Here were, doubtless, the bones of many generations. Whatsoever had been their deeds, the very knowledge of them was lost. With them indeed was 'no remembrance of the wise man any more than the fool for ever.' King and counsellor, spearman and slinger, friend and foe, all alike had gone to eternal oblivion.

" 'Hi motus animarum, atque hæc certamina tanta,
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescent.'

The question has arisen, whether Polynesian architecture is of Asiatic or South-American origin; and I think the preponderance of evidence is in favour of the Asiatic theory. Indeed, it seems probable that the American continent was influenced by the same migration from Asia which gave the copper-coloured races to Polynesia. The subject is too extensive to be argued out at the close of this paper, so I will merely touch upon some points, though my brother, who reasoned out the matter, did not hold entirely to the theory, as I find in his notes the following remarks:—

"Although we have good grounds for believing that Easter Island was not the *Ultima Thule* of the barbarian voyagers of the Pacific, yet we have no warrant for supposing that they should after their arrival on the new continent have so rapidly and unaccountably advanced in intelligence as to have given birth to a civilization of which,

the pyramids of Cholulu and elsewhere, and the stupendous viaducts, canals, and cities of Mexico, Guatemala, and Peru were the products. Neither do the vast and extraordinary mound constructions of the valley of the Mississippi seem derivable from such a source, especially from the fact that we have proof that to the builders of all these works the art of pottery and the use of some metals were well known. Nay, even that of precious stones and gilding, as of making a gold surface to cover and adhere to one of silver or copper, as is found in goblets, pipes, etc., of these unknown people.

"No such traces of Polynesian intelligence exist. Sculpture, which, though of a barbaric type, had arrived among the Central American races at great excellence, as far as complexity of design and elaborate execution are concerned, was entirely unknown to the Polynesian tribes, except as regards a few rude, chiefly zigzag, patterns of adornment, in the carving of canoes and war-clubs, and the making of some hideous 'Teraphim,' or certain monstrous images like those of Easter Island."

He proceeds to propound a theory of his own which is too lengthy for insertion here; but it is probable that Central America was the meeting-ground of Eastern and Western civilization. We are concerned with the former only at present. In Ellis's "Polynesian Researches," we find a comparison drawn between the Polynesian and the Asiatic. "*Meru*," or Mount Meru, the abode of the gods, the heaven of the Hindoos, is also the paradise of some classes of the South Sea Islander," *Varuna* and *Vahni*, Hindu gods, are spirits in Polynesia, the *n* being omitted in *Varuna*. In some parts, the word for god or spirit is *dewa*, which is pure Hindi—the word *Teo*, which is common in both Mexico and Polynesia, is evidently derived from *Deo*, used in India, especially in the Central Provinces, for God or spirit. Ellis also notices the practice of man and wife eating separately, and many other customs evidently of Asiatic origin; so that there is much evidence in favour of Polynesian architecture having been of Asiatic and not of American origin, but

rather to a certain extent the reverse. My brother, who spent some time also amongst the Peruvians and Mexicans, writes :

“ Among some of the intertropical tribes of America are observable physical characteristics similar to those of the Eastern Polynesians. Some barbarous customs and superstitions are identical, notably circumcision, and cannibalism in connection with religious worship, that is, the eating of human bodies which were offered in sacrifice to idols ; which to my thinking goes very far to establish a connection—the idea itself being in a manner unique, a sort of diabolical sacrament as it were, the heart and eyes being bestowed upon the most honourable, and the carcase divided among the inferior worshippers. They used an altar with an inclined surface, and (although in the Mexican case possessing metal implements) they cut up the sacrifice with a knife of stone.*

“ Compare the accounts of the Mexican sacrifices at the time of the conquest, and the reported present practice of the Apaches, Navajoes, and Guatusos with what is known of the Tahitian sacrificial procedure, and the agreement in many important particulars is very remarkable. Other abominations peculiar to people who, as Paul says, ‘ liked not to retain God in their knowledge,’ were, both in the islands and on the mainland, so prevalent as to confirm the impression of a common origin. I am acquainted with a Jesuit Father who was a missionary in the Marquesas. He had also laboured among the tribes of New Mexico and the *Moquis* and *Zunis* of the Rio Virgen ; he told me that these last had words in common with the Marquesan tongue. I have seen these people, but know nothing of their language ; one thing, however, attracted my attention, and that is, the existence in the Pacific Islands and in Central America of one style of building—a pyramid, in most cases perpendicular on three sides, with an interior chamber opening always to the west. The Indian name,

* The Ancient Egyptian embalmers also used a sharp flint for making the incision in the body.—R.A.S.

Teo calli, by which they are known, I believe to be of Polynesian origin, compounded of *Feé*, *Feo*, *Keo*, signifying a demon or deity, and *Falè*, house. These buildings are found in the Carolines and elsewhere, of great size. That some kind of cave ceremonies were performed in them is evident, from their being placed in such situations as to admit of the entrance being visible to a great concourse of people at the time, they are common also in Central America, especially where the Spaniard did not build towns, and so did not destroy them for the sale of their stones, as northward of the San Juan and to the south of the San Carlos. At Chontales is a whole street of them, and one on a hill at Castillo Viejo in Costa Rica."

My brother also alludes to the connection between the American Virgins of the Sun and the Samoan *Toupon Saa*, which, though unconnected with religion, they being destitute of any form of worship, he believes to have been borrowed in ancient times from the religious practice of some kindred people, probably in the Caroline group.

In conclusion, I will, with reference to the defensive architecture of the Pacific Isles, which my brother alludes to as mountain fastnesses, quote a paragraph from Mr. Ellis's work.

"Their places of defence were rocky fortresses improved by art. Several of these places were very extensive; that at Maeva in Huahine, bordering on a lake of the same name, and near Mouna-tabu, is probably the best artificial fortification in the islands, being a square of about half a mile on each side. It encloses many acres of ground, well stocked with bread-fruit, containing several springs, and having within its precincts the principal temple of their tutelar deity. The walls are of solid stonework, in height twelve feet." In India, in the Central Provinces, I have found similar mountain forts, where the natural difficulties of access were increased by massive stone walls. The work was ascribed by the aboriginal Gonds to the demigods of old, the tradition proving them to be of great antiquity.

One of these fortresses was in the vicinity of a large burial place in the jungle, where the graves were all *cromlechs*. Although the Samoans are not builders of cyclopean edifices, apparently the Tahitians kept up the practice, for Mr Ellis mentions a fort built by Tamehameha, the king, in the beginning of this century, of which the walls were twelve feet thick at the base and twenty feet high. He also gives an account of an ancient temple containing a pyramid 270 feet long, ninety-four wide and fifty high, the summit being one hundred and eighty feet long by six feet wide, formed of coral and basalt blocks hewn with great care. The following remarks, taken from my brother's notes, will fitly close this paper.

"In Cyclopean remains in the Pacific I recognise two distinguishing features, the terrace foundations of dwellings consisting of two or more steps, which seem to me identical with the style still adhered to by Buddhist people, and the truncated pyramid of successive steps, containing caves or chambers designed for interment or for the celebration of religious mysteries. The fashion of elevated foundations is sufficiently accountable in its origin, at first from necessity in localities malarious or infested by noxious animals, afterwards increased in dimensions and durability of material from a desire to impart an aspect of symmetry and dignity to the dwellings of individuals esteemed more honourable than the common herd. Thus, in places, we find the sides of the hills to have been excavated in terraces as the foundation of houses for chiefs or princes. The pyramid, or *teo-callis*, is a very different institution. Mysterious in its origin, widespread in its adaptations, slightly varying in form, yet everywhere bearing the stamp of one primitive prevailing idea. The stupendous monuments upon the plain of Memphis and the 'mountains made with hands' upon that of Cholula seem like the two ends of a chain of human thought and intent, of which the connecting links are to be found throughout Tartary, the Eastern Peninsula, China, Japan, and the isles of the Northern Pacific."

R. A. STERNDALÉ.

LIFE AMONG THE DRUSES IN 1845 AND 1882.

I.

A TEN years' residence in the Lebanon, from '45 to '55, before its inhabitants had come into much contact with Europeans, and while they still preserved intact their own ways, gave me much insight into the home-life and customs of both Druses and Maronites, into which two great sections the inhabitants of the Lebanon are divided. There were to be found a few Mohammedan villages, and a sprinkling of Greek Christians here and there; but the two great factions, which had possessed themselves of the Lebanon, and kept it in a constant state of disorder and tumult, were, as has been said, these two. They were, at the time of which I speak, and are still to this day, always in a state of feud with each other; and their internal dissensions too often culminate in entire districts being laid waste, and whole villages burnt, on the path of the victorious party, sometimes on the one side and sometimes on the other.

The Maronites, so named after their teacher and head, Mar Maroon, are descendants of the ancient inhabitants, who, being already Christians, submitted to the Roman Church at the first Crusade in the twelfth century. They never had much of a martial spirit, and in their battles with the Druses are generally beaten in almost every engagement, even though in point of numbers the advantage may be on their side, thus proving themselves far inferior both in courage and tactics. They live chiefly in the northern part of the Lebanon, from the Dog River, near Beyrout, to Tripoli, but are found also all over the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon, with a few in the larger cities of Syria.

The Druses are the descendants of what were supposed to be the remnants of the old Canaanites, and are (so-

called) Arabs, who took possession in 821 of the Metten, a part of Mount Lebanon which was then an empty waste, and which recommended itself to them as being most difficult of access to intruders.

They afterwards adopted the tenets of Hakim-bi-amr-illah (governor by the command of God), as taught by his adherent, Mohammed-ibn-Ismail-el-Darázy, from whom they have taken their name of Druses.

To enter into the peculiar doctrines of their religion is not the object of this paper. Suffice it to say, that they are strictly enjoined by it to assimilate themselves outwardly to whatever religion may be prevailing and victorious, and inwardly maintain a secret deadly hatred to its believers, with a firm grasp on their own tenets. Their places of worship are called "*khalwât*," which means secluded, and are really secret and secluded houses, which are jealously guarded from all intrusion. What is done in the secrecy of those meetings has never come to light, as it would be certain death to any one who would dare to divulge it.

The Druse religion divides its adherents into two parts; the "*U'kkál*," and the "*Juhhál*," which, literally interpreted, means the wise or reasonable, from "*a'kl*," reason, and the ignorant or foolish, from "*jehl*," folly.

There are many degrees of initiation, and it is only those who have reached the highest degree that may know all the mysterious secrets of their religion; and these exact the most abject, unquestioning obedience from all others, and are looked up to with the greatest awe and reverence. A very few women are allowed to be enrolled among the ranks of the "*initiated*," in the lower degrees; but the cases are very rare indeed (though I was told that in isolated instances they did exist) that the higher degrees are permitted to them.

It is easy to distinguish the "*U'kkál*," or initiated, from the "*Juhhál*," or uninitiated. Everything about them betokens the burden of a mystery; and the higher they

ascend in the scale of degrees in initiation, the more deeply imbued is the whole person, countenance, figure, and dress with the consciousness of a weight, a something to be kept secret at all hazards. From the moment they begin the coveted degrees, the whole person commences to undergo a change, which grows insidiously upon them.

The Druses, as a race, are of middle height, strong and well built, with fine open countenances, full of fire and intelligence. I do not think I ever saw a particularly tall or stout person among them ; but every movement of their lithe wiry figures gives an impression of great energy and perseverance.

They often make strong professions of warm undying friendship ; but it needs only one glance into their restless burning eyes to feel sure that they can be bitter foes, and are exceedingly suspicious of every one outside their own nation.

That they are of the same origin as the Bedouins of the desert, and of the descendants of Ishmael, there can be no doubt ; for the prediction delivered to Hagar in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis holds good of them in every particular to the present day. "And he will be a wild man ; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him ; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren."

The epithet of "lawless" or wild man outlawed, is truly applicable to, and often used of, the Druse ; for, like the roving Bedouin, he cannot be made to submit to any laws or governments. When finding himself rendered amenable to justice and searched for by the myrmidons of the law, he can retire within the recesses of the Metten, or the fastnesses of the Lejja, where he bids defiance to, and laughs scornfully at, all efforts to retake him. His skill in evading and baffling all search for him is more than equal to that of the North American Indian. He finds shelter and concealment under every Druse roof he comes to, as well as food and assistance of every sort until he is safe in

the Lejja; and he need not fear that the youngest child will babble of his secret.

And what is the Lejja, or refuge (for that is the meaning of the word in Arabic), where they can be so safe and bid defiance to all law?

It is indeed a singular spot, so impregnable by nature, that both roving Bedouins and lawless Druses are sure of perfect safety when once they have succeeded in taking refuge within its precincts. It is wholly inaccessible to trained troops of any sort, and is called Lejja by the Arabs apparently because it is a district enclosed by a rocky rampart, being a vast field of basalt, the long black line of which at once attracts the eye of the traveller.

This was doubtless originally the land of giants or Rephaim, the special territory of Og, king of Bashan (Deut. iii. 3). To this day, the cities which lie scattered about there in great numbers, present features of interest in this respect, as bearing witness to the truth of Holy Scripture, for they are like the dwellings of a race of giants, which for that very reason have stood till now, though utterly deserted.

The walls are very generally from five to eight feet thick, built of large square blocks of basalt; the roofs of the same material, hewn like planks, and reaching from wall to wall. The very doors and window-shutters are of stone hung upon pivots.

In some of the towns, there are perhaps 500 such houses. Some of the rooms are so large and lofty that they would be considered fine rooms even in an European palace.

The ancient capital was called Edrei, and is now called Edra'a, which means "strong arm." The ruins extend along the summit of a ledge of rocks which cannot be ascended, save by a winding path like a goat track.

It is a strange situation. In selecting it, everything has been sacrificed to strength and security, for there is no stream of water and no verdure here, and the rocks are wild. Huge masses of masonry lie scattered up and down, over a space three miles in circumference, being remains

of towers, temples, and mosques, all of black basalt. The rugged and intricate defile that leads to it, protects to this day from any danger all those who take refuge in it.

It is of no use to long for a peep into the past of this wonderful place. History, that is Bible history, tells us the little we know about it, and particularly gives us the dimensions of the bedstead of Og king of Bashan, as of a thing fabulous in itself and worthy of preservation (Deut. iii. 11). Its warriors must have been on the same scale, heroes of no common order; and their mothers and sweet-hearts, sisters and wives were no doubt worthy of them. In the days of Abraham it was probably in its zenith of glory. Now it contains only cities of the dead; but the plain around is amazingly fertile.

The goddess Ashtaroth, or Astarte, was worshipped here—Astarte, queen of heaven, with crescent moon. A figure of this goddess is found at one of these cities; a large colossal face with a crescent and rays shooting upwards looking like horns, on account of which this town is supposed to be the ancient "Karnain," as the word Karnain in Arabic means two horns. Westward from it is Kunawât, on sloping ground above a deep ravine. It was built on the top of a cliff: the walls still exist to a great extent, following the cliff in a zigzag direction. Here are found palaces and theatres and temples and churches, all in ruins; and in the glen below, and on the wooded sides of neighbouring hills, clusters of columns and lofty tombs and also massive towers. The leading streets of the city can be traced wide and regular. But want of space forbids further description. At present the silence of the grave reigns around; and the rough untutored Bedouin, who never dreams of sleeping on a bedstead as was done thousands of years ago in the days of Og king of Bashan, and the lawless Druse, who is content with the earth for his bed and a stone for his pillow, and his own 'abba (long jacket of camel's hair) for his only covering, are the only occupants; and there, with success, these can and do bid defiance to

all armies of trained soldiers sent to coerce them to the requirements of civilization.

The Druse acknowledges no laws but those that emanate from his own "khalwât," and are secretly made known to him by his own superiors. A blind reverential awe and absolute unquestioning obedience towards his superiors in religion, are instilled into him with his mother's milk, and that is the main-spring of all his actions. To be a Druse is his pride—his boast. Ask a lithe strapping fellow not yet in his teens, or a graceful little maiden of the same age, as to their nationality, and the proud flash of the dark limpid brown eyes, heavily curtained and fringed by long curling black eyelashes, and the haughty straightening of the figure, and throwing back of the well-formed head, bear witness to the pride with which the words; "I am a Druse," escape the smiling ruby lips.

The bump of reticence is developed among them to a wonderful degree: not even the youngest will divulge anything respecting any one of their own people to a stranger. The saying, so common in many lands, "as talkative as an old woman," finds here no foot-hold; for the old women are invariably silent before strangers.

There seems to be an innate suspiciousness of all other human beings wrought into their inmost nature. Should a stranger be seen approaching any of their khalwât, spies are immediately set to watch him in the distance, although their holy place may be, for the time being, untenanted and closed; and if it should happen to be at an hour when a secret conclave is held, the life of that stranger is not safe until he leaves far behind him that low-roofed whitewashed building, which looks outwardly more like a prison cell than a place of religious worship.

Their religious books,—and, at the time I speak of, they had no others,—are in manuscript, and are consequently very rare. The Druses will not have them printed, and are exceedingly jealous of, and determined to prevent, if possible, their getting into the hands of any but their own

"U'kkáls." Information once reached them that a small copy of one of these books was known to be in the library of a gentleman who was an alien to their religion. Emissary after emissary was sent to get hold of it; and every means was resorted to, to wile it away in some fashion, even by stealth if possible. All efforts having proved useless, advantage was taken of one of the usual disturbances in the Lebanon, between Druses and Maronites. Fire was set to the house, and that library actually burnt down to the ground, as the only means and last resource by which they could get their book out of the possession of aliens, although the proprietor of it had been a devoted friend and benefactor to them, and a constant and welcome guest when they were in sickness and pain!

Having given this short account of their religion, I will pass on to their home life.

Their houses are built of a conglomeration of mud, stones, and sticks. After the walls have become sufficiently dry, the ceiling is made by laying across, from one wall to another, poplar trees which have barely had the branches lopped off, and are of unequal sizes. There is no attempt at planing them. The interstices between these trees is more than equal to them. Two or three layers of bushes are then laid over, and earth well pressed in upon them. Serpents, scorpions, lizards, rats, and mice, as well as smaller vermin, infest these ceilings and the cavities around the door-posts; and if an unwary hand is placed unwittingly upon a scorpion or centipede basking lazily in the sun, which, being of the self-same colour as the mud walls and wooden posts, is totally unseen, a shriek of agony alone discovers the fact. Otherwise none of these creatures go out of their way to harm any one.

I myself have had a serpent drop upon me as I was crossing a room. It fell in the shape of a ball; and having a large ball of yarn on my arm with which I was knitting, I simply thought that it was my ball that had fallen. A moment's glance soon satisfied me that my ball

was securely resting in the hollow of my elbow, and wondering what round object it was, the heavy weight of which I could plainly feel dragging down the train of my dress, I bent down to inspect it closely, when lo and behold! to my astonishment, and before my wondering eyes, the ball slowly but surely unrolled itself into a serpent of several feet in length, which glided away peacefully and hid itself in one of the many holes sunk into the mud floor. This happened at a late hour of the night, when alone in my bedroom; and, though somewhat startled, I thought it hardly worth while to disturb any one. The result justified my confidence, for I slept wholly undisturbed by my unwelcome visitor. A pair of serpents gambolling playfully together in the thatch above the door, is not an unfrequent sight on a sunny day after heavy rain.

About 18 inches from the floor and the same distance from the wall is a partition of mud and sticks, divided into compartments, each of which has a hole large enough to put in the hand down at its base, and another twice as large at the top, which is also about 18 inches from the ceiling.

These compartments fill two sides of the house, and are used for storing their wheat, barley, maize, rice, lentils, etc., for the winter. The third side is occupied by a "yook," flanked by a cupboard on each side of it. The doors of these cupboards, although of sticks and mud, have some attempt at decoration in the shape of bits of looking-glass, hands with wide-spread fingers to avert the evil eye, bits of bright-coloured, highly-glazed crockery, camels' teeth, glass beads, etc., stuck here and there in the mud. The "yook" is a recess 18 inches from the floor, and about the same width from the wall, in which all the mattresses, sheets, pillows, and leháfs required for the family use are neatly folded and laid away early in the morning. A curtain hangs before it. At night they are taken out and the beds made up on the mats with which the floor is covered.

A small mud fireplace is raised in the centre of the room,

and from it to the door is a partition, all within which is considered the women's private apartment. If there are married sons, there will be a portion partitioned off for each ; but no doors of any kind to shut these partitions off from one another, can be found in any house.

All the mud work is done by the females, and is more or less repaired every year. For this purpose they dig out of the sides of the mountains a peculiar kind of bluish earth, which they mix with chopped straw and cow's dung. Of course these floors are a perfect hot-bed for fleas ; and every good housewife, on making up the beds for the night, takes good care to put a piece of raw cotton within the sheets, under the impression that it will entrap the fleas before the owner of the bed comes to take possession of it, at which time it (the cotton) is taken out and burnt.

The quarries formed in procuring the earth are very dangerous, being dug in the sloping sides of the mountains, which when loosened by rain, having no props of any sort, are very apt to slide down upon the workers, and engulf them ; one or more being dead before the needed help arrives, and they can be dug out, as the quarries are always at some distance from the villages.

It is a sound never to be forgotten—that which announces such a disaster—that of the piercing shrieks and cries for help raised by those who stand outside the quarry that has collapsed ; and the whole village seems paralysed at the first note of it. The men rush from their fields and workshops, breathless, silent, and with compressed lips.

The young mothers catch up their little ones and put them astride on their shoulders, the elderly women throwing down the jars they were filling or the brooms they were using—all fly towards the site of the fearful catastrophe in breathless haste, for none know upon whose family the blow may have fallen. The young girls generally go in large numbers to these digging parties, and leave their homes before the morning light, to avoid the heat of the day. I have heard their merry laughter in the darkness of

the early dawn, and heard again within a few hours the slow heavy tramp of the bearers, as they carried the cold, mutilated forms—the disfigured remains—to the homes they had left but a short time before in all the flush of youth and health. Yet, strange to say, still the same thing is repeated year after year, and no precautions are taken to prevent it.

Both men and women wear a coarse strong linen stuff, woven by themselves. The portion used for the outer garment is dyed a navy blue, also by themselves. The younger portion of the community, both boys and girls, use round silver buttons for the vests of the former and the dresses or “gombaz” of the latter. Young married women also wear rings, bracelets, chains, with amulets and anklets of silver. The latter are especially so constructed that they tinkle as the wearer walks, or, as the Bible has it (Isa. iii. 16), “make a tinkling with their feet.”

At the time I speak of, the Druse women wore a very peculiar head-dress called the “tantoor,” consisting of a horn made of some kind of metal. The rich had them of silver, and sometimes even of gold, set in front with precious stones, and measuring in some instances two feet in length. The ordinary length was one foot, or a little over. Some had them of brass, and the very poorer ones of tin. They are tied on their heads with three cords of black silk or cotton, and these cords are braided with their hair, of which they wear one tress on each side of the face, and one at the back of the head. The two tresses on each side of the face were tied together tightly under the chin. A large muslin veil, covering the back, was brought over the top of the horn down as far as where it was set with precious stones; and then, as it neared the face, the edges on both sides were caught in between the cheeks and the braided hair. The strain on the hair must have been enormous, and the weight of the horn and veil together very painful. I have often been told by them that it caused a great deal of pain in many ways, giving them severe head-

aches, and making the hair to fall ; but it was the fashion, and considered to give elegance to the figure, which in my opinion they certainly did not need, for in many years' residence among them, I do not think I ever saw a woman whose figure was not naturally elegant, or whose movements were not graceful. This is saying a great deal, seeing that they had to wear this horn, or "tantoor," by night as well as by day.

I have heard, since the time of which I have been speaking, that the Government in the Lebanon has interdicted the use of the "tantoor," but that the Druse women, instead of being thankful, were so far inclined to rebel that severe measures had to be taken to prevent the continued use of it.

In the presence of a strange man, whether Druse or other, Druse women always draw one side of the veil over their faces, only allowing one eye to appear. Men, both Moslems and Druses, have repeatedly told me that they look upon a woman who leaves her face uncovered, as not only wanting in self-respect, but also in proper respect to *them*; in fact, they considered it an insult to men, and for this reason insisted upon the women covering their faces.

To be wanting in courage,—not to be able to suffer and make no sign,—is scouted as a disgraceful weakness not worthy of a Druse. I remember an incident which took place in Jedeydah, in a family where I was staying at the time. The son of the host, a fine boy of about 17, had injured his leg very severely. Mortification set in. The only chance of life lay in amputation of the limb. This, of itself, was a dreadful blow ; for to a young man among the Druses, to be able to pursue a horse galloping at full speed and to overtake and mount him without causing him to stop for a single moment in his wild career (as I have myself often seen done), is the acme of pride and delight. Minus a leg, poor young Kásim could no longer enjoy this ; and in bitterness of heart he turned his face to the wall, that

none should see the despair written upon it. When the time came for the amputation to take place, he gave orders that every one must leave the house, and go a quarter of an hour's distance away. This was done lest any one should be able to say that they had heard him giving vent to expressions of suffering. He was left with his father, the surgeon, and one faithful servant. What happened then, I heard from the surgeon's own mouth. As soon as the operation commenced, the boy began to sing war-songs and the songs of Antar. He never flinched for a single moment; and the only way they knew that he was suffering more at certain times than at others, was that at those times his voice would ring more proudly and thrillingly in its notes. All present had their eyes filled with tears at his endurance; but the falcon glance of his eye never quailed once.

When a bride is brought home to her husband's house, she sits, carefully veiled, on a horse, riding astride, as all women in the East do, and with a drawn sword between her hands, to denote that she is to be the wife of a warrior.

The Druses do not indulge in a plurality of wives, like the Moslems. They have but one at a time; but divorces are frequent.

Marriages take place principally between first cousins on the father's side. A father disposes of his daughter as he pleases, and no law or Government can interfere or shield her from any whim or caprice, however cruel. If the father is dead, the eldest brother takes his place; if neither father nor brothers exist, the first cousin or the nearest male relation by the father's side. The relations by the mother's side are legally of no kin, and hold no authority whatever. In speaking to, or of, his wife, a man will say "Bint-u'mmee," daughter of my father's brother, and, *vice versa*, a woman in speaking to, or of, her husband, will say, "Ibn-u'mmee," son of my father's brother.

The men are industrious, courageous, and enterprising. The women are excellent housekeepers, and devoted wives and mothers. In the fights that often take place, either

with the local government or the Maronites, it is the shrill "zaghareet" (a peculiar noise that they make) of the women that give the intimation far and near, and call the men together from the more distant villages and hill-tops. On the battle-field their presence cheers and encourages the men. They bring jars of cool water from the spring for the thirsty and bandages for the wounded, load the guns for the men, and stand in front of them, while the guns rest on their shoulders for the men to take sure aim. A Druse woman laughs at danger. She follows the men of her people into the thickest of it, and shows less mercy to an enemy that falls into her hands.

Druse men bear the character of being chivalrous towards women, even among their foes, and never willingly injure one; but to the men they are implacable foes, and do not know the meaning of the word mercy as regards them. To each other, their religion binds them to be strictly faithful and loyal, even to the death if necessary; and this trait is a part of their very being, whether they be men or women, old or young.

Should any scandal be discovered among them, or any treachery, the man or the woman who has caused it is quietly, yet surely, made away with in the dead of night, the offender's own nearest relations taking the lead. The strictest silence is preserved on the subject, and no hint or inkling of the matter is allowed to leak out to any alien. Should any inquiries be made about the missing one, a plausible excuse is readily found to account for his or her absence.

A strong bond of union exists between the common people and their Sheikhs. Private messengers go swiftly from village to village on foot, travelling day and night and thus a constant but secret communication is kept up among all ranks. The outer world, their very neighbours at their doors, see nothing, hear nothing, and suspect nothing.

In the case of a great event taking place in a Sheikh's

family, such as the death of one of its members, or the birth of a son, or a marriage, deputations are sent from every village. Immediately upon the arrival of the messenger, word is sent to each family. The women at once set about preparing provisions for the deputation to take with them. Sheep and goats are killed, and cooked with rice, or maize, or lentils. Large quantities of bread are baked in the "tannoor" (native oven). The u'kkáls make out a list of men and women who form the deputation. All don their best robes. The u'kkál puts on his whitest turban and his newest 'abba. The women draw the "kohl" reed through their eyelashes, and put on, not only their own, but all the borrowed jewellery they can get. They set out on foot, travelling all night, so arranging matters that they shall arrive as soon after the dawn as possible. The women carry on their heads, in very large round pans of light wood, the food that has been prepared.

As they draw near to their destination, the men break out in war-songs, to which the women add a chorus of "Zaghareet." If the occasion is a joyful one, young men accompany the party on their little Arabian steeds, and enter the large meedán, which exists before every Sheikh's house, carolling and prancing, and throwing the jereed, and showing off such dexterous feats of horsemanship as would make the fortune of a circus manager. The length of time that a deputation remains at the sheikh's village is from one to eight days, according to the importance of the occasion.

(To be continued.)

SOME ASIATIC JESTS DOMICILED IN EUROPE.

It is almost a trite saying among students of folk-tales that an unfamiliar jest is very rarely met with in what may be called the lower strata of European popular fiction. Most of the jests which have been current in England since the thirteenth century (some of which re-appeared in the *venerable* "Joe Miller") are also known throughout Europe—from Norway to Sicily, from Russia to Portugal. Not a few of those of the "noodle" class are found in the *facetiae* of Hierokles, the Alexandrian philosopher. But it is not, I think, very generally known to what an extent European *facetiae* are indebted to the East—even the Far East, to China and Japan. The vitality of a good jest is truly astonishing. We laugh now at jokes that shook the sides and wagged the beards of men who were contemporary with Sokrates. Who made them at first is a question which will never find a satisfactory answer. All that we are certain of is, that they are very old, some of them, possibly, several thousands of years old. In a literary form, many can be traced back, at latest, to the 2nd century B.C., in Buddhist and Hindú story-books, and then they were doubtless of very respectable antiquity. But it may be said that a good jest, like Truth herself, is always young, though I dare say it would somewhat damp the ardour of a racy story-teller to be informed that his best anecdotes about blundering Irishmen were told in the East about Bráhmans ages upon ages since. The well-known "Joe Miller" of the impudent Irishman in a coffee-house looking over a gentleman's shoulder while he was writing a letter,

and when he read, "I have much more to say to you, but a fellow is looking over my shoulder and reading all I write," he cried out, "'Pon my soul, sorr, I haven't read a word,"—this is found in the *Baháristán* ("Abode of Spring") of Jamí, the last of the galaxy of great Persian poets (15th century). The story, in the *Wit and Mirth* of John Taylor, the Water-Poet, of the countryman in London who tried to take up a stone to throw at a savage dog, and finding them all rammed hard in the ground, declared that these were strange folks, who, fastened the stones and let loose their dogs—this was told in the 13th century by the illustrious Persian poet Sa'dí, in his *Gulistán*, or Rose-Garden. But instead of tracing a European jest through its various forms to an Asiatic original, or, at least, older Asiatic version, let us reverse the process, and begin with a tale from that fine old Hindú collection, *Kathá Sarit Sāgara*,* as follows :

A musician once gave great pleasure to a rich man, by singing and playing before him. He thereupon called his treasurer and said, in the hearing of the musician, "Give this man two thousand *panas*." The treasurer said, "I will do so," and went out. The minstrel went and asked him for those panas, but the treasurer, who had an understanding with his master, refused to give them. Then the musician came and asked the rich man for the panas, but he said, "What did you give me that I should make a return? You gave a short-lived pleasure to my ears by playing on the lyre, and I gave a short-lived pleasure to your ears by promising you money."

In the "Pleasing Stories" in Gladwin's *Persian Moon-shee* this jest is slightly varied ; there it is a poor poet who recites verses in praise of a rich man, who tells him to come back on the morrow and he will give him a large quantity of grain. Next day the rich man says to the poor poet, "You are a blockhead : you delighted me with words,

* "Ocean of the Rivers of Narrative," composed by Somadeva, in the 11th century, after a similar work, apparently lost, entitled *Vrihat Kathá*, or "Great Story," by Gunadhya, in the 5th century. In this work are found the prototypes of many familiar tales in the *Arabian Nights*. A complete English prose translation, by Professor C. H. Tawney, was published at Calcutta, in two large volumes, a few years ago.

and I pleased you in like manner; why, then, should I give you grain?" There is a similar story in M. Stanislas Julien's French translation of the *Avadānas* (No. 25); but as these Chinese-Buddhist tales are of much later date than those in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, it was probably borrowed from some Hindū source.

Lucian, who has preserved so many of the good sayings of antiquity for us, tells the same story, *mutatis mutandis*, in his "Hermotimus," to the effect that a philosopher complained to his pupil because his fees were eleven days in arrear. The youth's uncle, a rough and ignorant fellow, who happened to be standing by, thus addressed the philosopher: "Pray, let us hear no more complaints of the injustice you suppose you have had at our hands, since it simply amounts to this—we have bought *words* from you, and up till now we have paid you in the same coin."

But observe how closely the following version (from *Jacke of Dover his Quest of Inquirie for the Foole of all Fooles*, one of our early English jest-books*) agrees with the Indian story with which we started:

Upon a time, there was a certaine petty-cannon [minor canon] dwelling in Coventrie, to whose house, upon a high feastival day, there came an expeart and curious musition, but very poore (as commonly men of the finest qualities be), and in hope of a reward offered to shew him the rarest musicke that ever he heard. Wilt thou? quoth the petty-cannon; well, shew thy best, and the more cunningly thet thou playest, the greater reward thou shalt have. Hereupon the poore musition cheered up his spirits and with his instrument plaide in a most stately manner before him a long season; whereunto the petty-cannon gave good care and on a sodaine startes up, and gets him into his study, where he remained some three or foure houres, not regarding the poore musition that all this while stood playing in the hall, hoping for some reward or other. Afterwardes, when it grew towards supper time, downe came the petty-cannon againe, and walkes two or three times one after another by the musition, but sayes never a word; at which the musition began to marvell; and having nothing all this while given him for all his laboure, he boldly asked his reward. Why, quoth

* This very amusing little book is of the latter part of the 16th century. No copy of the first impression seems to be extant, but the second edition is dated 1601, and the Second Part was licensed to be printed in 1604. It has been reprinted in Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Jest-Books*.

the petty-cannon, the reward I promised thee, I have already payde. As how? quoth the musition: as yet was nothing given me. Yes, quoth the petty-cannon, I have given thee pleasure for pleasure, for I have as much delighted thee with hope as thou hast done me with musick.

Let us now take a Japanese tale, which, though not precisely akin to the foregoing, yet presents a general resemblance to the "words in payment for words." It is cited by Dr. F. Liebrecht, in the "Nachträge" to his *Zur Volkskunde*, as from the "*Pariser Temps* (nach der *Flandre Libérale* vom 19 Oct. 1878)," and is to the following effect:

Kisaburo was a person of an economical spirit, who gave up his old abode to take lodgings on the side of a market for eels. The appetizing odour of the fried eels was diffused into the dining-room of Kisaburo, who ate his bowl of rice seasoned therewith, thus saving him the cost of the usual seasonings. The man with the eels soon perceived the manœuvre, and presented his bill for the odour of his fish. Kisaburo, looking at him with malice, drew from his purse the sum asked, laid it down on the bill and began to chat with him. When the man was about to take his leave, Kisaburo quietly put the money back into his pocket. "What!" said the other, "are you taking back your money?" "Not at all," replied Kisaburo, "you ask me for payment for the smell of your [fried] fish; I do the same for the sight of my money."

This droll story was known in Europe in the 14th century, and is thus amplified in the *Cento Novelle Antiche* (No. 9), the earliest Italian collection of tales:

In Alexandria, which is in the parts of Roumania, because there are twelve Alexandrias, which Alexander founded the March before he died; in that Alexandria is the street where live the Saracens who make viands to sell, and that street is sought for the most delicate and nicest food, just as among us one seeks for clothes. One Monday a Saracen cook, whose name was Fabrac, being in his kitchen, a poor Saracen came there with a loaf in his hand. He had no money to buy from the cook, so he held his bread above the kettle, and received the steam that came from it, and the bread soaked with the steam that came from the food he bit, and so ate it all. This Fabrac did not sell much that morning, and took it as a bad omen and annoyance, and seized the poor Saracen, and said to him, "Pay me for what you have taken of mine." The poor man replied, "I have not taken anything from your kitchen but steam." Said Fabrac, "Pay me for what you have taken of mine."

The dispute was so great, that on account of the novel and rude discus-

sion, and one that had never arisen before, the news came to the Sultan. The Sultan, for the very curious matter, collected his wise men and sent for the disputants. The question was stated. The Saracen sages began to argue, and one thought the steam did not belong to the cook, giving many reasons. "The steam cannot be taken, for it returns to the element [*i.e.* the air], and has no property or substance that is useful. He ought not to pay." Others said, "The steam was conjoined with the food, was in its power, and was generated from its property, and the man is on the point of selling it in the course of his trade, and he who takes of it is wont to pay." There were many other arguments. At last it was resolved, "Since he sells his wares, and you and others buy, just Lord, have him paid for his wares according to their value. If he sells his cooking, giving the useful property of it, he is wont to take the useful money. Now that he has sold the steam, which is the subtle part of cooking, have, Lord, some money jingled, and decide that the payment shall be understood as made by the sound that proceeds from it." And so judged the Sultan that it should be observed.

Rabelais tells the same story at still greater length and in his own inimitable manner. It may be found in Book iii., ch. 37, as related by Pantagruel to Panurge. But here the disputants argue the case themselves on the spot. The porter, in answer to the cook's demand for payment for the smoke of his roast meat, argues that "he had sustained no loss at all; that by what he had done there was no diminution made of the flesh; that he had taken nothing of his, and that therefore he was not indebted to him in anything. As for the smoke in question, although he had not been there, it would have been evaporated; besides, before that time it had never been seen or heard of that roast meat smoke was sold on the streets of Paris." The cook replied, that "he was not bound to feed and nourish a porter, whom he had never seen before, with the smoke of his roast meat, and thereupon swore that if he would not forthwith content and satisfy him with present payment for the repast which he had thereby got, he would take the crooked staves from off his back, which should serve for fuel to his kitchen fires. When he was about to do so, the sturdy porter got out of his gripe, drew forth a knotty cudgel, and stood on his defence." The noise of the disputants soon brought a crowd to the shop, and among the

"gaping hoydens of sottish Parisians" was a well-known fool, to whom they agreed to submit the case and abide by his decision. To be brief, the fool decreed, like the "Saracen sages" in the Italian version, that as the porter had flavoured his crust with the smoke of the cook's roast meat, so the cook must be satisfied with the sound of the porter's money."

A short and slightly different version is given in J. Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst* (No. 48). The dispute is brought before the court of justice and postponed till another court-day. "One of the judges had a fool at home, and at table the matter was talked of. Then spoke the fool: 'He shall pay the host with the sound of the money, as the poor man was satisfied with the flavour of the roast.' When the court-day came, they kept to the judgment which the fool had pronounced." *

The story also occurs in the *Gurú Paramartan*, a collection written in the Tamil language by Father Beschi, a Jesuit missionary in India for many years, which has been translated into English by Babington; but though many of the tales in the work are known to exist in Hindú books, this jest has not as yet been found in any of them, so one hesitates to claim for it an Indian parentage.

Cousin-german (or rather "own brother") to these tales of the poor man and the cook is a story in the *Bahár-i-Dánish* ("Spring of Knowledge"), a most entertaining Persian collection, by 'Ináyatu'lláh, avowedly derived from Indian sources. This is the story, according to Jonathan Scott's translation, vol. iii., p. 211:

One day, as the dervish was passing on some business through the city, he beheld a great crowd assembled to behold a young man whom the officers of justice were conducting to the diván. On inquiring the cause, he was told that the youth was sitting under the wall of the Vazír's palace and looking at his face in a mirror, when the minister's daughter, passing

* Oesterley, in his edition of Pauli, refers to a number of other versions, variants, and analogues.

on the terrace, the reflection of her person appeared in the glass, and the young man in the ardour of admiration had kissed the mirror several times, for which crime he was going to be punished. The sharak,* who happened to be with the dervish, cried out: "Let them put the young man in the sun, and inflict a hundred stripes upon his shadow." At this judgment from the mouth of a bird the people were all filled with astonishment, and the report of the circumstance spread quickly over the whole city, from the beggar to the prince.

A variant of this occurs in the Indian romance which purports to recount the marvellous exploits of Vikramá, Rájá of Ujjayín, where a dancing-girl sues a merchant in consequence of her having dreamt that he had violated her chastity. A wise parrot, overhearing this singular demand, suggests that the money should be placed before a mirror, and that she must be content with grasping the reflection, the offence being only imaginary.

In these two tales the sharak is Jehandar Sháh, who had, by magical art, transferred his soul into the dead body of a bird of that species, and the parrot is Vikramá in like circumstances. Many Eastern tales turn on the possession of this kind of magical power.

According to Plutarch, when a courtesan named Thonis demanded of a young man the price of her favours, which he had enjoyed only in imagination, Bocchoris adjudged that her payment should be the jingle of the youth's money.

Walter Mapes, in his *Nugæ Curialium* (which seems to be the first Latin collection of stories made in mediæval times, prior to any of the monkish collections of *exempla*, for the use of preachers), has a variant of this, which differs in the conclusion. As it has not hitherto appeared in English, and the Camden Society's edition of this work is somewhat scarce, a translation may be here presented, for the purpose of comparison with the previous versions :

Llewellyn, king of Wales, a treacherous man, like almost all his predecessors and successors, had a most beautiful wife, whom he loved more

* The sharak is a kind of nightingale, and can be taught to imitate the human voice with more facility and accuracy than even the parrot.

intensely than he was beloved by her. Hence he was constantly guarding against attempts on her chastity, quite consumed by the most suspicious jealousy, and planned nothing but preserving her from the touch of another. There chanced to come to him a youth most distinguished in fame, nobility of manner, race, and address, well-to-do, of elegant person; and he dreamed that he had converse with the queen. The king declared that he had been deceived, raged as if the thing had really taken place, seized the unoffending youth by artifice, and, but for respect to his parents and the fear of revenge, would have put him to death by torture.

According to custom, all his relations offered themselves as surety for the youth, and tried to stop proceedings. But he declined, and sought to be put on trial at once. They complained of his refusal, and while they were quarrelling he was kept in chains. Many often came to the tribunal, as well by order of the prince as of the other side, but in every settlement many withdrew and called upon the sages. At length they consulted one to whom fame had given the highest position, and wealth not less. He said to them: "The decrees of our country must be followed, and whatever our fathers have resolved, and long usage confirmed, we cannot reasonably overthrow. Let us follow them, and, until new legislation decrees the contrary, let us advance nothing new. The most ancient laws declare that whosoever shall have defiled the Queen of Wales by adultery shall go free after paying 1000 cows to the king, and so likewise for the wives of princes and grandees, according to the rank of each, the fine is fixed at a definite number. This fellow is accused of dreaming of connection with the queen. It is certain that 1000 cows must be given. Concerning the dream, we give judgment that this young man place 1000 cows in order at sunrise in the sight of the king on the bank of the lake Behthenio, so that the shadow of each may appear in the water. The shadow shall be the king's, but not the cows, for a dream is but a shadow of a truth." The decision was approved by all, and execution ordered. IJewellyn protesting.

To the same class belongs the story referred to by Lucian in his *Hermotimus*, where he declares that "all the philosophers in the world are fighting, so to say, for the *shadow of the ass*." Dr. Thomas Francklin, the translator of Lucian, explains the allusion thus: Demosthenes was one day haranguing the senate, who would not suffer him to go on, when he told them the following story: "Two men were travelling together; one purchased of the other an ass. They jogged on; the heat of the weather was intense. The body of the ass threw a shade on the ground; they both wanted to lie down under it. On this a quarrel ensued; the man who had sold the beast said that he did

not sell its shadow; the other insisted that he had purchased everything that the ass could give, and consequently the shadow of it. Here Demosthenes stopped short. The hearers desired to know the issue of the dispute, and how it was determined. "You are very eager," said he, "to hear anything about the shadow of an ass, yet will not listen to me when I speak on the important concerns of the commonwealth."

This story is told of the Abderites, who, like our Men of Gotham, and the Schildburgers in Germany, had the reputation of being arrant noodles. It occurs in some versions of the so-called Fables of Æsop, where it is said that while the two men were disputing about the shadow of the ass, the sagacious animal took the opportunity of showing them a clean pair of heels.—The author of *Hudibras*, who was as learned as he was witty, was evidently familiar with the story, since, in his *Remains*, he says: "A herald is wiser than the man who sold his ass and kept the shadow for his own use, for he sells the shadow (that is, the picture) and keeps the ass himself."

Father Beschi, in his Tamil story-book, relates how an ox was hired to carry the Simple Gurú (Gurú Paramartan), the owner accompanying him and his disciples—noodles, like their spiritual instructor—to the next halting-place. On the road the Gurú was so oppressed by the heat of the sun that he dismounted and lay down under the ample shadow of the ox. When they had completed that day's journey, the owner of the ox demanded to be paid also for the use of its shadow, since he had not lent his ox as an umbrella. The dispute was referred to the chief man of the village, who, after relating the story of the poor man and the cook (already referred to), representing himself as having been the poor man to whom the incident occurred, gave his decision, following that precedent: "For journeying hither on the ox, the proper hire is money, and for remaining in the shadow of the ox, the shadow of money

is sufficient." It would be interesting to ascertain whether the story occurs in any native Tamil collection.

In the Turkish collection of the *sottises* of the Khoja Nasr-ed-Dín Efendi we read that he one day presented the emperor Tímúr (Tamerlane) with ten early cucumbers, for which he was rewarded with the same number of gold pieces. Shortly after, when cucumbers were become more plentiful by the advance of the season, the Khoja filled a cart with them, and drove it to Tímúr's palace. There the porter refused to admit him unless he would promise to "go halves" with him in whatever he should receive from the emperor, remembering the former present for the ten cucumbers. On being introduced to Tímúr, the Khoja stated that he had now brought his majesty a much larger quantity of cucumbers than before; whereupon, in place of giving gold in return for the gift, Tímúr ordered him to receive a hundred strokes with a rod. When the unlucky Khoja had borne half his punishment very patiently, he cried out that he had now got his full share, and hoped the emperor would do justice to his own porter. Tímúr asked what he meant. Said the Khoja: "I agreed with thy porter that he should receive half of my expected present for introducing me to thee." The porter was at once called, and, confessing to the arrangement, was forced to receive the remainder of the Khoja's unwelcome "present."

An Arabian variant is told of Ibn-el-Karibí, a favourite public story-teller and jester, and Mesrúr, the celebrated personal attendant of the Khalíf Harún-er-Rashid. Mesrúr bargains with El-Karibí, before introducing him into Harún's presence, that he should receive three-fourths of the expected gift. El-Karibí offers him the half, but he will not accept so little, and at length he agrees to give Mesrúr two-thirds and keep the other third for himself. The Khalíf tells the jester that if he does not make him laugh, he will beat him three times with a leathern bag (which had four pebbles inside). The poor jester's witti-

cisms fail to excite even a smile on the Khalif's face, so he deals El-Karibí a blow with the bag, when the jester informs him of the compact he had made with Mesrúr, who receives the two other blows, and Harún now laughs heartily, and gives each of them a thousand pieces of gold. —Lane's *Arabian Nights*, vol. ii., p. 533.

The story was early domiciled in Italy and England, and probably also in most other European countries. In Sacchetti's *Novelle* it is said that Philip of Valois offered a reward of two hundred francs for the recovery of a favourite hawk which he had lost. The bird was found by a poor man, who, recognising it as belonging to the prince, from the *fleurs de lis* engraved on the bells, carried it to the palace, and was admitted to present it to his royal highness by the usher of the chamber, who had bargained to receive from the man half of what the prince should give him. The peasant informed the prince of this arrangement, and requested as his reward fifty strokes with the *bâton*. He accordingly received twenty-five blows, and the usher had the remainder of the gratification, well laid on, we may be sure; but the poor man afterwards privately obtained ample pecuniary compensation from the prince.

Here the story differs from the two Eastern forms, in which the blows are not given at the victim's own request; and the old English ballad of *Sir Clerges* (14th century), which dates much earlier than the time of Sacchetti, is somewhat similar to the Italian tale: A knight, called Sir Clerges, who wished to make an offering to King Utter, is admitted into the palace by the porter, and introduced to the royal steward on the condition that each should have a third of the recompense the king should bestow on him. The knight, on being desired by the king to name his reward, chose twelve bastinadoes, eight of which he had the satisfaction of distributing with his own hand between the steward and the porter.

Another ancient jest of Asiatic origin, of the Lamb with-

out a Heart, was popular throughout Europe in mediæval times. This is how it is told of an ass in the famous Indian collection of apologues and tales, entitled the *Panchatantra*, or Five Chapters :

In a certain spot in a forest there lived a lion, named Karāla-Kísara. He had a servant, a jackal, named Dhūsaraka, a constant follower. When fighting once with an elephant, he received very severe blows on his body, whereby he was not able to move a foot ; and he not stirring, Dhūsaraka became weak, with his throat parched up by hunger. And on another day he told him : " My lord, I am pained with hunger ; I am not able to stir a foot. Then how can I serve you ? " The lion said : " Go and look for some animal, that I may kill him, though reduced to this state. " On hearing this, the jackal set out, and discovered an ass, named Lambakarna, on the margin of a tank, grazing on the scanty tufts of herbage, and thus addressed him : " Uncle ! Pray accept this my salutation to you. It is long since I last saw you. Tell me, why have you become so weak ? " He said : " O sister's son, what shall I say ? The merciless washerman harasses me with heavy burdens, and does not give me even a handful of grass. I eat merely the shoots of grass mingled with dust. How then can I grow fat in body ? " The jackal answered : " Uncle, if this be so, there is a very pleasant spot, thick with grass of emerald green, beside which a river flows. Come there and remain, enjoying the happiness of good conversation and companionship with me. " Lambakarna said : " O sister's son, you have spoken aright ! But we are domestic animals, and liable to be destroyed by those that walk the forest. What is the good of that beautiful spot ? " The jackal responded : " Uncle, do not say so. That spot is protected within the cage of my arms. There is no entrance whatever for another there. Moreover, there are three she-asses there, ill-treated by washermen as you are, and without a husband ; and they, grown fat in youthful wildness, said to me : ' If you are our true uncle, then go to another village and bring us some proper husband. ' For their sake I would take you thither. " Then, hearing the words of the jackal, and his body overcome by lust, the ass said : " Friend, if so, go thou first, that I may follow. " And it is well said : " Besides a fair-formed woman, by companionship with whom one lives, and by separation from whom one dies, there is no nectar or poison. " And again : " Where is not love excited at the sight of those whose names themselves excite passion, without presence or contact ? "

When the ass drew near the lion, conducted by the jackal, the lion, distressed with pain, no sooner arose on seeing him than the ass began to run, but not before he had received a stroke from the lion's paw, and that, like the endeavours of an unfortunate man, proved futile. Meanwhile, the jackal, overcome with rage, said to the lion : " Is this the manner of your blow, that even an ass can escape from you ? Then how will you fight with an elephant ? Oh, I have seen your strength ! " The lion, with

shamefaced smile, answered : "What could I do? I did not keep myself ready for a spring, otherwise even an elephant, sprung upon by me, cannot escape." The jackal said : "Even yet will I bring him near to you, but you must be ready for a spring." Said the lion : "How will he, who saw me and went away, come here again? Therefore look for some other beast." The jackal replied : "What matters it to you? You had better remain prepared for a spring." Then the jackal went after the ass, and coming up to him, the ass said : "O son of my sister! I was taken by him to a fine place! Certainly I was in the hands of death; therefore tell me what is that animal, from the blows of whose fearful arms I have escaped?" The jackal answered, laughing : "Friend, the she-ass, seeing you approaching, got up with affection to embrace you, and you, out of fear, ran away. But she is not able to live without you; and she stretched out her hand to hold you as you were going off, and for no other reason. Therefore come back. On your account she sits, vowing to yield up her life, saying : 'If Lambakarna does not become my husband, I shall fall into the fire or water, for I am unable to bear this separation.' Therefore now show your kindness and come. If not, woman-murder will fall upon you." It is said : "Those ill-minded fools, who are engaged in false pursuits after abandoning Kāma's womanly symbol of victory, which secures the happiness of all things, they are beaten most cruelly by him and made *nagnas* (i.e., naked men), and *mundis* (men with their heads completely shaved), some red cloth wearers, some of matted hair, and the rest *kāpālikas* (men who carry human skulls)."

Then the ass, taking his word as trustworthy, started again with the jackal; for it is well said : "A man knowingly commits a despised act by fate." And Lambakarna was killed by the lion, who was prepared for the spring. Then, after killing him and appointing the jackal to watch, he went to the river to bathe. And the jackal, overcome by desire, ate up the ears and the heart of the ass. When the lion returned, after having bathed and performed his worship to the gods and his rites to the manes, he discovered the ass devoid of ears and heart, and, filled with rage, said to the jackal, "Thou wicked one! Why have you done this unbecoming action, and rendered the ass refuse by eating his ears and his heart?" The jackal responded : "Lord, do not—do not say so! This ass was devoid of ears and heart, and therefore he came again, after having seen you here." Then the lion, believing his words, divided it equally with him, having no suspicion in his mind.

This fable has been adapted in the *Gesta Romanorum*, the great collection of tales, made probably in the fourteenth century, for the use of preachers. The eighty-third chapter of the Continental *Gesta* (so called to distinguish it from what is known as the English, and, in all likelihood, the original work) is to the following effect : A boar devastates a garden belonging to the emperor Trajan; it

is wounded on three different occasions, and finally killed. When the cook was preparing it for the table, he preserved the heart for his own eating. This annoyed the emperor, and he sent to inquire for the heart. The cook declared that the boar had no heart, and when called upon to justify his assertion he defended it thus: "The boar in the first instance entered the garden and committed much injury. I, seeing it, cut off its left ear. Now, if he possessed a heart, he would have recollected the loss of so important a member. But he did not, for he entered a second time; therefore he had no heart. Besides, if he had a heart, when I had cut off his right ear, he would have meditated upon the matter, which he did not, but came again, and lost his tail. Moreover, having lost his ears and tail, had he possessed a particle of heart, he would have thought; but he did not, for he entered a fourth time and was killed. For these several reasons I am confident he had no heart." The emperor, satisfied with what he had heard, applauded the man's judgment.

This was probably taken into the *Gesta* from Babrius, 95, and there is a similar tale in Grimm's *Kinder und Haus-Märchen*, where an old soldier, called Brother Merry, and his companion, Brother (St.) Peter, received from a peasant the gift of a lamb. Brother Merry cooks the lamb, and eats the heart during Brother Peter's absence, and when Peter returns and asks only the heart for his share, Merry insists that a lamb has no heart.

But there is a very singular Croatian version to which is tagged on a very different story, possessing great interest to story comparers. It is given, as follows, in the *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. lxx., Aug. 1867, pp. 139, 140: Odin and his son Thor take a man called Daniel as their guide. A lamb is to be roasted entire by Daniel while they sleep. He steals and eats the liver, and denies it, and so forth. Thor took from his pocket several gold pieces and carefully reckoned and made four divisions of them. This strongly excited Daniel's curiosity. He drew near

Thor eagerly, and asked him why he was dividing his money into four parts. "We are now nearly at the end of our journey," says Thor; "so I wish to give to every one the sum to which he is entitled." "To whom does this belong?" said the guide, pointing to one heap. "To Odin." "And this?" "To myself." "And this?" "That is your own property." "But this fourth heap?" "That is the portion of the man who ate the lamb's liver." Then up sprang Daniel, and cried with all his force: "My lord, that heap is mine; it is I who ate it; I swear by all that is dear to me. No other man tasted a bit of it. I swallowed it all while you two were asleep."

Strange as it may appear to readers who are not acquainted with the migrations and transformations of popular fictions, this last version finds its parallel in one of the Eastern forms of Chaucer's "Pardoner's Tale," namely, a fine poem by the celebrated Persian Faridú-'d'-Dín 'Attár (twelfth century), in which it is related that Jesus ('Isa) and a Jew were journeying together, and of the three wheaten loaves which Jesus had in his budget he ate one and gave another to his companion to eat, and the third for him to take charge of while he went for some water. During his absence the Jew ate also the remaining loaf, and when asked what was become of it he flatly denied all knowledge as to its disappearance. The Messiah, seeing three heaps of earth before him, breathed a prayer, and they were changed to three lumps of pure gold, and he said to the Jew: "One heap is thine, another is mine, and the third belongs to the man who ate the third loaf." Thereupon the Jew cried out that he alone had eaten the third loaf; and Jesus replied: "Thou art not fit to be my fellow-traveller, so I now leave thee; but thou mayest have all three heaps of gold." In the sequel, as in the "Pardoner's Tale," the greedy Jew and two others with whom he was to share the gold perish miserably. See my *Popular Tales and Fictions* (1887), vol. ii., p. 379 ff.; or my *Analogues*

of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, pp. 415-436 (Chaucer Society's publications).—There can be no doubt whatever of the Buddhist origin of the *Panchatantra* tale of the Lion, Jackal, and Credulous Ass. It is not found in the fables of Pilpay, or Bidpai, the European form of the famous Indian work.

W. A. CLOUSTON.

THE BARBARY CORSAIRS.

PART II.

IN Algiers, which may be taken as the model Corsair State, the whole executive government was vested in the hands of the Dái; and his power was only restrained by the law of the Prophet, and the fear of thwarting the will of the turbulent soldiery who had elected him and were equally ready on the slightest pretext to depose him. He was assisted in his office by the Mufti, or expounder of the law, and the Khazánadár, or Keeper of the Treasury. This official often succeeded to the vacant post of Dái, his charge enabling him to purchase the suffrages of the soldiery.

The Turkish province of Algeria was divided into four districts. The central one round the city was under the immediate charge of the Dái. The other three were governed by Turkish Beys, appointed from the retired officers of the soldiery. They were Oran in the west, of which the Bey resided at Tilimsan (the town of Oran being in possession of the Spaniards); Bona in the east, whereof the Bey resided at Constantina; and Titterie in the south. Every year at harvest-time, three flying camps were formed from the Turkish soldiery of about two thousand men each, who marched to the outlying provinces to collect the revenue. If it was not punctually paid, the crops were cut and carried off. The Spanish Governor of Oran always paid a sum down to save the crops round the town. Otherwise than by collecting the stipulated revenue, the Turks troubled themselves very little about the government or police of the country. They had small garrisons in the

principal towns; but the bulk of their soldiery lay in Algiers itself.

The soldiers were divided into messes or companies of twenty men, who lodged in one tent abroad, or in one room in barracks. There were four officers and sixteen privates in each company. The former were the Buluk bashi (captain), the Oda bashi (lieutenant), the Ashji (cook), and the Vakil-i-kharchi (quartermaster). There were two pack-horses to each company, one to carry the tent, the other the cooking utensils. All the soldiery received daily rations of bread, and drew pay once every two months. The Agha was pensioned after each issue of pay, and the Kiáyá succeeded him, and the step went regularly through all the ranks. There was a private purchase system, by which officers could obtain the steps of those above them by satisfying their demands. In short, the system of the old Ottoman standing army continued to be generally followed among the Turkish soldiery of Barbary.

The caps and uniform insignia worn by the Ottoman Janissaries were also continued by the officers; but the Turks mostly adopted the Levend dress of short jacket and vest, which they found more convenient wear afloat than the long skirts of the Janissary dress. The European renegades were admitted to a perfect equality with the Turks in all respects. The Kuloghli, or sons of the Turks by slave women, were enlisted as soldiers, but were not allowed to rise to any superior rank. This was on account of the attempted revolution of 1626, when the Kuloghli rose in revolt and attempted to seize the government; but they were overcome by the united forces of the Turks and renegades, and a bloody revenge was taken upon them. The Kuloghli had often a considerable infusion of Aryan blood in his veins, and this made him more humane and more intelligent than the stupid and brutal Turk.

It is believed that there were never more than twelve thousand Turks in Algiers, and not so many in Tunis or

Tripoli. There were no Turkish women in the country ; and the Kuloghliis were not admitted into the ruling caste ; an instance of exclusiveness very rare among a Musalman people, who trace their lineage generally solely through their male ancestors, as is natural in communities where polygamy and female slavery are social institutions. When the number of Turks began to fall short, the Dái sent his ships to Smyrna, where they enlisted recruits among the Asiatic Turks. Dr. Shawe says that he was in Algiers when one of these batches of recruits arrived, and a greater set of ragamuffins and tatterdemalions he never saw ; but when they had been a short time in Algiers and had gotten caps to their heads, shoes to their feet, and a pair of long knives to their girdles, they quickly acquired "the singular air of contempt with which they look down upon all but just their own insolent scoundrel, baseborn selves." This method of recruiting the Turks in Algiers was carried on up to the time of their final expulsion by the French in 1830 ; and very likely the longer duration of their military government and the leading position of Algiers among the Barbary Regencies are due to this mode of maintaining their military strength. For in Tunis, and in Tripoli also, not only Kuloghliis but native Moors were enlisted in the Janissaries when the supply of Turks and renegades fell short.

When Dr. Shawe wrote, in 1730, there were six or seven thousand Turks and Kuloghliis together in Algiers. In 1830, at the time of the French occupation, there were only three thousand Turks, while the number of the Kuloghliis had risen to twelve thousand.

It seems surprising that a handful of Turks should have been able so completely to dominate Algeria for three centuries and to keep all Moors, Arabs, and Berbers in an abject state of submission ; while at this day it takes an army of fifty thousand French soldiers to keep the same country tranquil. But the Turks were Musalmans ; and probably nothing but religious fanaticism could ever have

combined the Arab tribes together for one common object. There were frequent revolts against Turkish rule, provoked by their senseless tyranny and brutality ; but the Turkish Beys easily quelled them by playing off one tribe against another ; nor did the Arabs ever unite in a general revolt against Turkish rule, heartily as they hated the Turks individually. Besides, as long as the taxes were paid, the Arabs were left pretty much to themselves, the Turks hardly venturing outside of the towns except in large parties and well armed.

When the traveller Bruce, who was for some time British Consul at Algiers, was shipwrecked on the coast of Barbary, the Arabs, taking him by his dress for a Turk, began to beat and abuse him "all the while," says Bruce, "uttering a gibberish in imitation of Turkish." The Turks, on their part, repaid the hatred of the Arabs with contempt ; "one Turk," says Dr. Shawe, "valuing himself as a match for twenty Arabs." With the Moors the Turks got on better ; and they kept some Moorish troops in their service, both horse and foot, under the designation of Sipáhis and Zouaves, whose name and national dress have been perpetuated by their French conquerors.

But the population which was most profitable to the Turkish masters of the country, was that of the Christian slaves. The wealthy were held to ransom, and were beaten and tortured to enhance and quicken the payment of the sum demanded by the cupidity of their owner. The young and beautiful were sent as tribute to the Sultan, or sold into slavery in all parts of the Turkish Empire. The strong and robust were chained to the row-benches of the galleys which had captured them, and which their stout arms were forced to propel in quest of other prey ; the Corsairs boasting that "they cared not how the wind blew since they carried the wind in the sinews of their slaves." Besides, the whole of the labour in the State and in the city was performed by Christian slaves. The repair of the fortifications, the building of the cruisers, the baking of the

bread for the rations of the Janissaries, the sweeping of the streets, all was done by slave labour. Besides the captives taken by the cruisers of the State, one out of every eight captives taken by a privateer was the share of the Government; and the Dey always picked the better sort for ransom, or else artisans and craftsmen, whose labour might be usefully and profitably employed. Not only were the principal part of the revenues of the State derived from piracy, but its whole fabric was founded upon Christian slavery.

Père Dan, the Redemptorist Father who visited Algiers in 1634 to redeem captives, says that the total number of Christian slaves was then twenty-five thousand; but it is possible that he exaggerates. There is, however, no doubt that the number of Christian slaves was very large at that time, not only in the Barbary Regencies, but in the whole Ottoman Empire. Cervantes says, that on the glorious day of Lepanto, "full fifteen thousand Christian slaves who were chained to the Turkish oars that day recovered their long-wished-for liberty."

Great numbers of these Christian captives apostatized, to escape the cruel hardships of their slavery; and the number of these renegades was swelled by fugitives from justice in Christian countries and deserters from military and naval service. Père Dan says that there were eight thousand renegades in Algiers, of whom one thousand were women; three thousand in Tunis, of whom five hundred were women; while in Tripoli there were only about a hundred renegades, and in Salée of Morocco three hundred. There were at that time thirty-five galleys in the Algerine fleet, of which all except eleven were commanded by renegade captains. The preponderance of the renegades is to be accounted for by their being generally more intelligent and better seamen than the Turks. Probably few of them were sincere in their conversion; and many of them only conformed in the hope of getting a better opportunity of one day escaping back into Christendom.

Thus, one of the renegade captains once anchored his galley in an outside berth in Tunis roads ; he gave all his Turks and Moors liberty to go ashore, and when most of them were gone, he liberated his galley-slaves, overpowered the remaining Turks, and pulled away for the coast of Sicily and got clear off. If a renegade was taken by the Christians in fight, he generally fell into the clutches of the Inquisition ; hence the renegades used, says Cervantes, to furnish themselves with certificates from slaves who were known to be persons of consideration,—priests, and the like,—to testify that the bearer was anxious to return into the true fold, and that he had only become a renegade under compulsion. Armed with this paper the renegade would venture on a cruise against the Christians, and were he taken, he would be allowed to go free on the strength of it ; then he would seize the first opportunity of returning again into Barbary, there to resume his wicked manner of life.

In the year 1574 a Spanish renegade, named Hasanico, passed the Straits with six Algerine galleys and landed near Cadiz. The Corsairs had collected a number of women and children, and spoil of various kinds, when an alarm was given that troops were upon them and they hurried to re-embark. But like the ancient Greeks upon a similar expedition, they found their galleys stranded ; left high and dry by the faithless ocean-tide. The renegade, Captain Hasanico, was taken, fell into the clutches of the Inquisition, and was burned alive at the stake. His comrades in Algiers were infuriated at the news, and declared "that in Barbary there were some who had as good a hand at burning, or even at roasting folks, as they could possibly have in Spain or elsewhere." So, having pitched upon an unfortunate captive Spanish priest, they buried the flukes of an anchor in the ground and chained him to the iron upright shank loosely, so that he could run round it ; they then lit a fire round him and roasted him alive, some of them basting him with water to increase his torments.

This poor priest is, of course, canonized as a martyr by Père Dan, who seems never to suspect that what was fiendish cruelty on the part of Musalmans could not very well be looked upon as only just retribution when inflicted by Christians upon a renegade.

He tells some miraculous tales of the corpses of renegades being found charred and burnt when their graves were opened, very circumstantially confirmed to his own complete satisfaction; and he is very severe upon the "*sorcilèges*" of the Moors and of the regard they pay to their false and designing Marabouts; while the Turkish Chronicler, Haji Khalifa, is equally sarcastic at the expense of Père Dan's confraternity: "the priests," says he, "have shackled these fools, and by their artifices have brought under their power all the Christians, both small and great."

Joseph Pitts, an English sailor-boy, captured by an Algerine cruiser in 1678, has given us, in his simple history of his captivity in Algiers, an account of the way renegades were made and unmade. His master having a mind to gain spiritual merit, soundly bastinadoed Joseph Pitts into the true faith; and the new convert served with the Algerine army in one campaign against Oran, and another against Morocco; and also anticipated Sir Richard Burton in making the pilgrimage to Mecca. When the Algerines sent a squadron to the Levant to aid the Sultan against the Venetians he accompanied it, and at Smyrna deserted and hid in the house of an English merchant; and when the squadron had departed, he assumed the European dress and went home in a French vessel. Two Spanish renegades deserted along with him. Such occurrences frequently happening, and also the vile character of many of the renegades, did much to discredit the practice of making converts among the Corsairs; and their numbers continually diminished till, at the commencement of the present century, there were but few renegades in Barbary.

It is remarkable, that though there were thousands of

Moslem captives in Christendom, a case of apostasy among them was very rare, if not altogether unknown. The only instance we can recall is that of Ali Bey, the Turkish Captain taken by the Portuguese at Melinda, on the East Coast of Africa. Malta was full of Turkish and Moorish captives, and the war-galleys of the Knights were rowed by Moslem slaves.

In the galleys of France and the other Mediterranean States, the stroke oars were rowed by Turks, and at least the fifth slave at every sweep was usually a Turk or a Moor. When Mass was said on board the galley, the Turks were unchained and put into the long-boat, where they chatted, smoked, and blasphemed. No one seems ever to have thought of asking them or expecting them to turn Christian. At all events we hear nothing of renegades from Islam.

The renegades from Christianity were often more cruel taskmasters to the Christian slaves than the Turks themselves. Hasan Venedik, Pasha of Algiers, was, says Cervantes, "the most cruel renegado that ever was known; every day he hanged a slave; impaled one; cut off the ears of another; and this upon so little reason, or so entirely without cause, that the very Turks themselves cried out upon his cruelty." One common incentive to cruelty in the renegade was the desire to prove his zeal for his new faith by persecuting his old one; and at the same time he might gratify personal or national antipathies at the expense of those whose steadfast continuance in the faith was a perpetual reproach to him; as Gurgin Khan, the Georgian renegade, when Governor of Kandahar under the Shiya Persians, gratified his secret hatred of Muhammadanism by tormenting the Sunni Afghans.

The African Turks themselves were far more cruel than their compatriots in Asia and Europe; probably their trade of Corsair bred in them a familiarity with, and contempt for, human suffering; but their judicial punishments

were fiendishly cruel, even those which they inflicted on men of their own race and faith. One of their favourite methods of execution was "the hooks;" iron hooks were fixed in the city wall, and the culprit was thrown over the battlements to be caught on them, where he sometimes lingered in agony for days. Breaking the bones with an iron bar, like the breaking on the wheel practised in Europe; dragging at a horse's tail; quartering a victim by lashing his limbs to galleys rowed in opposite directions; hanging from the yard-arm as a target for arrows; these were all methods of execution employed on slaves and criminals. Strenuous cruelty was no doubt necessary under such a system, to prevent the ever-imminent danger of a revolt or escape of the Christian slaves.

All the cruelties and all the precautions of the Corsairs could not always prevent a revolt of their galley-slaves. Up to the beginning of the seventeenth century the pirate vessels were all galleys—long, narrow, row-boats carrying sail in a fair wind, but depending for their propulsion upon oars pulled by Christian slaves. The war-galley was called from its long, low, black hull and sharp beak, *Ghuráb*, or *Raven*, by the Arabs; it had a high poop and forecastle on which its guns were mounted; the waist was occupied by the row-benches, where the slaves tugged at the heavy oars; from prow to poop ran a bridge, along which the boatswain and his mates walked, armed with whips to keep the rowers to their work. The slaves were nearly naked, and were chained by the leg to a shackle-bar underneath their bench. A large galley or galley-royal might be 150 feet long, or more, with a beam of only 25 or 30 feet; she would pull twenty-five oars a-side, with five or six slaves to each oar. She would thus carry two hundred and fifty slaves; and about one hundred and fifty officers, sailors, and fighting men. She carried two masts, spreading huge lateen sails. The Corsairs, who aimed at speed more than size or strength, generally used a smaller kind of galley, called a galliot, or *galère bâtarde* (whence the Turks called

it "bashtarda"), carrying only one mast, with eighteen or twenty oars a-side and three slaves to each oar.

A smaller craft still was the Firkata (frigate), brigantine, or quarter galley, pulling only twelve or fourteen oars a-side, and in which each oar was rowed by one man. These were principally used by the Corsairs of Tetuan, Shershel, and other harbours convenient to the Spanish coast, who used to cross in the night and take their breakfast on the shores of Spain, hide their brigantine in a convenient creek, and after plundering all day, would return with their booty under cover of the night into Africa.

These small craft were not rowed by slaves, but by their fighting crew; but the labour of rowing in the heavy galleys was so great that no free men could be induced to undertake it. The toil of the galley-slave was so severe that it was more dreaded by the Christian captives than any other. The learned Abul Fazl, the Vazir of the Mogul Emperor Akbar, referring to the galleys used by the Portuguese on the West Coast of India, speaks of the condition of the "halya kashán-i Farang" (galley-slaves of the Europeans) as the most miserable and debasing form of servitude. The wretched slaves were kept on the stretch sometimes on an emergency for fifteen or twenty hours together, to surprise an unsuspecting, or to escape a pursuing enemy. If a slave fainted or fell overspent with toil, he was summarily pitched overboard, and his place filled by a fresh one. They were fed from time to time by their task-masters with rusk soaked in wine to sustain their flagging strength, and urged on with repeated blows to almost superhuman exertions.

It is surprising that these miserable wretches could ever be induced, by their own exertions, to save their captors and tormentors from exchanging places with them when their galley was chased by a Christian cruiser; but the fact is, that the instant terror of their tyrants' brutality overcame every other thought. Any slave who refused his task

in such a case would have been immediately cut down. Swivel guns crammed with bullets were mounted at the break of the poop, to sweep the rowing-deck in case the slaves turned refractory. Joseph Morgan, in his "History of Algiers," gives a graphic picture of the chase of a galley; whether it be, says he, a Christian vessel chased by Corsairs, or a Turkish galliot chased by Maltese Knights, the fear of capture made a wonderful difference in the demeanour of the masters to their slaves; for, "as the danger increased those grovelling varlets, officers and all, are such mean-spirited hypocrites as by intervals to embrace, kiss, beg, intreat, and fawn upon the very men whom their inhumanity has rendered more like to tormented demons than human creatures; their teeth and eyes knocked out, ears torn off, and flesh most caninely lacerated by the very teeth of those cannibals, calling them Brethren, Cavaliers, Lords, Patrons, Defenders, Protectors and what not; running officiously with bowls of water to refresh them, and napkins, etc., to wipe away their sweat and blood. But all this pageantry vanishes and everything is *in statu quo* if by dint of strenuous rowing the pursued galley or galeot has the fortune to strike ahead and get away."

Sometimes, however, the tormented wretches did turn upon their oppressors; as when the Algerine galley commanded by the grandson of Khyr ud Din Barbarossa was chased and taken by the Spanish galley the *Sea-wolf*, off the coast of the Morea. This Turkish captain was a most cruel master to his slaves; and as he was standing on the bridge during the chase and encouraging them to row lustily, some of them caught him by the skirts, and dragged him down to the row-benches, passing him along forward; all the slaves striking him with their fists and fetters, till "or ever his body had reached the mainmast, his soul had passed into hell."

A few years afterwards, in A.D. 1577, two Algerine galleys were putting into Tetuan, and had moored in the

mouth of the river. One of them weighed anchor and stood up the stream, and the other was about to follow her when some Christian slaves on board, who had long meditated an escape, determined to seize the opportunity, thinking to carry the galley across to Spain before her consort could return. In a few minutes they had concerted a plan; the carpenter went up with his axe in his hand to Kara Hasan, the Turkish captain, who was standing on deck superintending the preparations for getting under weigh, and cut him down at one blow. At the same instant the steward rushed out of the cabin with an armful of sabres, which he distributed to the galley slaves; their shackles were speedily knocked off, and a desperate charge drove most of the Turks overboard. But unluckily fifteen of them held the forecastle, and prevented the slaves from getting up the anchor; and they defended it so desperately that the Christians could not overcome their resistance.

Memi Reis, a Venetian renegade who was captain of the other galley, hearing the shouting and firing, returned; and the vessel was re-taken, and all the slaves who were not killed were either cruelly tortured to death on the spot, or were taken back to Algiers, to be made an example of there.

Another time, during the war of Candia, the slaves of a galley had contrived to secrete an auger with which they bored holes in the sides of the galley during the night and plugged them up; next morning, as they were rowing past a desert islet, they pulled out the plugs, and the galley began to fill. The Turks, thinking she had sprung a leak, crowded into the boats, and made for the islet, leaving the slaves to shift for themselves; they then plugged the holes, baled out the galley, and rowed away; and soon after, falling in with some Venetian vessels, directed them to the rock, where the Turks were all found and made prisoners.

The Christians were not much behindhand with the

Turks in cruelty to their galley-slaves; the usual punishment for a Musalman slave who attempted to escape, was cutting off his ears; a Moor enslaved in the Spanish galleys cut off his own left hand to escape from the labour of the oar. The Spaniards then chained the stump of his arm to the oar. This coming to the ears of the Dái of Algiers he offered to ransom the Moor; and though the Spaniards were unwilling to let him escape them, the Dái threatened reprisals on his Spanish slaves unless he were given up, so they allowed him to be redeemed.

The great disadvantages of the galley, as compared, with sailing ships, were, that it could not make a long cruise, on account of the number of hands on board, and the little space available for stowage of the provisions and water; nor could it keep the sea in winter or rough weather, as its low freeboard made it dangerous in a high sea; moreover, it could not attack a sailing ship in a breeze, when she could wear, and bring her broadside to bear. In a calm, two or three galleys together would venture to attack a ship, working at her fore and aft, and raking her with their bow-chasers; but if a breeze sprang up, she would soon scatter her puny tormentors. The Corsairs soon learned by experience that their galleys could not tackle "tall ships." Murad Reis, the Albanian renegade, called Murad the Great to distinguish him from several other Corsair captains of the same name, did indeed carry a large Dutch ship by assault, after a desperate resistance in which most of her crew were killed; but when the ship was crowded with the victorious Turks the Dutch captain threw fire into the magazine, and so blew up the ship and the Turks together, while of the galleys which were grappled to her, some were sunk outright and others so shattered that Murad Reis had much difficulty in regaining port with them.

Ali Pichinin (Fescennine?), the son of a renegado and Captain-General of the Algerine galleys, had an equally unfortunate adventure with a Dutch ship in the year

1641. He was on a cruise with his galleys, and they met with a large English ship which looked so formidable a customer that Ali's captains refused to undertake her. Meeting with no other prize, and the time of their cruise being spent, Ali in a rage vowed to attempt the next ship they might fall in with, whatever her size and strength. Next day they sighted a large and heavily armed Dutch merchantman under sail. Ali disposed his galleys in the form of a crescent, and directed them to converge upon her bow. The signal was given, the galleys advanced at racing speed; the Turks, sword in hand, crowding the forecastles ready to board. But the wily Dutchman suddenly went about; and the galleys came crashing into each other, smashing oars and fouling spars; while the Dutchman nearly ran down Ali's flag-galley, which was one of the outer ones. And as she grazed along its side eighty Turks sprang into her chains and rigging. The next instant the ship was ploughing the waves on her new tack, leaving the galleys far astern, and carrying off with her the eighty too eager boarders. Many of them sprang into the sea; the rest were shot down by the Dutchmen at their leisure from behind shelter in the poop and forecastle.

Adventures like these made the Corsairs long to have "tall ships" of their own; and their wishes were soon gratified. About the year 1600, a Dutch pirate or privateer, Captain Simon Danser, came with his ships to Algiers, where he was made welcome as an enemy of the Spaniards, and struck up a close alliance with the Algerines, bringing his prizes and Spanish prisoners into their harbours. The Turks made a great deal of him, calling him *Deli Kapitan* (Captain Dare-devil); and he taught them how to build and to sail square-rigged ships.

Père Dan says that an Englishman taught the same art to the Tunisians about the same time; and the Tripolitans built their first sailing ships in 1618, under the instructions of Memi Reis, a Greek renegade. In 1630,

Père Dan estimated the strength of the Algerine fleet at seventy sail, carrying twenty-five, thirty-five, forty, and even fifty guns; the Tunisians had fourteen, and the Tripolitans seven or eight. The rovers of Sallee, on the Atlantic, had thirty sailing ships, but all small and of light draught, as their harbour would not hold ships of any size. The Corsairs now redoubled their activity, and passing the Straits of Gibraltar, boldly roamed the Atlantic, and sought everywhere for fresh fields of plunder.

"That notable Pyrat Amurath Reis," as Knolles calls him, had already ventured into the Atlantic with his galleys in a summer cruise. In the year 1585 he went to Sallee, and being joined by the rovers there, they proceeded to the Canary Islands, and carried off three hundred of the inhabitants as slaves. As soon as the Corsairs became possessed of sailing ships they began regularly to frequent the Atlantic. As early as 1616, Sir Francis Cottington, English Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, writes to the Duke of Buckingham. "The strength and boldness of the Barbary pirates is now grown to that height, both in the ocean and in the Mediterranean seas, as I have never known anything to have wrought a greater sadness and distraction in this Court than the daily advice thereof."

Watch-towers had to be built within signalling distance all along the coasts of Spain, to give notice of the approach of the Corsairs; and it was greatly in the hope of depriving them of suspected aiders and abettors in the country itself, that the whole Morisco population was banished from Spain this very year. They took refuge mostly in Algiers, and added greatly to the population and resources of that State, which became now more powerful and more dreaded than ever.

Next year eight Algerine vessels visited Madeira, sacked the towns, laid waste the whole island, and carried off twelve hundred captives. In 1627, they came into the English Channel and North Sea, landed in Denmark,

and thence carried off four hundred captives. In 1631, under the command of Murad Reis, a Dutch renegade, they landed in Devonshire, and carried off some children; thence they went to Ireland and sacked the town of Baltimore, carrying off two hundred and thirty-seven men, women, and children, even to babes in the cradle. These were sold by public auction in Algiers, "the husband being parted from the wife," says Père Dan, "and the father from the child;" and Christian bystanders could not refrain from tears, "to see so many honest women and well-brought-up girls abandoned to the brutality of these barbarians."

The Turks took English ships off the Lizard and in St. George's Channel; the fishermen on the West and South Coast dared not put to sea for fear of the Corsairs. Charles the First's unfortunate levy of ship-money was intended to provide protection for the coasts from their attacks. We learn from official documents, that between the years 1609 and 1617, they had destroyed four hundred and sixty-six sail of British ships alone.

In 1638, they visited Iceland, piloted thither by a native of the island whom they had taken in a Danish ship. They carried off eight hundred souls from Reykjavik, with all the property they could lay their hands upon. Two years after, when a mission was sent from Denmark to rescue these unfortunates, it was found that nearly all were already dead of heat, misery, and ill-usage.

Most of the Governments of Europe now entered into composition with the Algerines and the other Barbary Regencies, agreeing to pay an annual tribute which should protect their ships and subjects from being molested.

England and France never stooped quite so low as this; but they made large presents to the rulers of the Regencies, entered into regular treaties with them, and submitted to be frequently bullied and brow-beaten in the persons of their representatives. But this pusillanimous conduct did not arise from sheer cowardice, as Mr. Stanley

Lane-Poole suggests, but from sheer selfishness. The Turks of Barbary swore eternal enmity against the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians, the hereditary enemies of the Moslem name; and their Corsairs completely destroyed the carrying trade of these nations in the Mediterranean, and consequently threw it entirely into the hands of the English, French, and Dutch, who were powerful enough at sea to make their own terms with the Corsairs, and to force them to keep them.

Hence Louis the Fourteenth said, "If there were no Algiers, I myself would make one." And the English, though they were not so cynically candid, perhaps reaped more advantage from the terror of the Barbary Corsairs than any other nation. But the Corsairs, in their sublime ignorance, attributed the reluctance of England and France to injure them entirely to their own prowess; and it took a long time and many lessons to convince them of the contrary. They had very nearly succeeded in 1617, not only in putting a stop to the trade of the Mediterranean nations, but to trade in the Mediterranean altogether; they kept one squadron outside the Straits of Gibraltar, and another just inside, and overhauled every vessel that passed. The French sent a fleet of fifty sail, which scattered their fleets and sunk their admiral and another ship. In 1620, the English sent a fleet to Algiers under Sir Robert Mansel, but after a great deal of palaver only eighteen English slaves were liberated; the Dáí having secretly smuggled the rest away out of the town. The Long Parliament sent an agent, Mr. Edmund Casson, to ransom English captives, and many were ransomed, the average ransom being £40; at the same time a treaty was made, and sworn to with most solemn oaths, which soon turned out to be waste paper as far as the Algerines were concerned. Cromwell, however, took up the matter of the Corsairs with his usual thoroughness; and in 1655, Admiral Blake completely destroyed the Tunisian piratical fleet of nine ships in Porto Farina; and the Algerines and

Tripolitans became immediately very civil and amenable to reason. This mood did not last long, however; and before the great Protector died, he was meditating the necessity of again chastizing them. All through Charles the Second's reign there was a continual succession of broken treaties and petty wars with the Barbary Regencies.

The Tripolitans, who in the times of the galleys had been kept down by the fear of the Knights of Malta, now braved them in their tall ships, and infested the Levant, where they preyed on the English ships of the Turkey Company. The *Hunter* frigate was sent to convoy the English ships, when six Tripolitan Corsairs attacked and took her. This insult to His Majesty's navy brought Sir John Narborough with a British squadron to Tripoli. He burnt four of the Pasha's men-of-war, the *White-crowned Eagle*, of fifty guns; the *Looking-glass*, thirty-four guns; the *Santa Chiara*, twenty-four guns; and the *French Patache*, twenty guns. Peace was then patched up, on the "customary presents" being made to the Pasha and Divan, between His Britannic Majesty on the one hand, and "Khalil Bashaw, Ibrahim Dái, the Agha, Divan, and Governors of the Noble City and State of Tripoli," on the other. At least six naval expeditions were despatched against Algiers by the wretched Government of Charles the Second, which embezzled the money raised for the redemption of English captives in Barbary, and applied it to paying the debts of the navy. The chief point of dispute was, that the Corsairs claimed the right to search English vessels, and take out of them the persons and goods of nations at war with Algiers, *i.e.* Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians. Even Charles's Ministers could not swallow this article; and the Algerines would be content with nothing less. At last, the patience of the English Cabinet was exhausted, and they took strong measures. Sir Thomas Allen destroyed six of the finest ships of the Algerines in the Atlantic, and next year Sir

Edward Spragg burnt their fleet of nine sail in Bujeya harbour ; upon which the Janissaries rose upon their Agha, murdered him, and carried his head to the palace.

"The Pasha, looking out, asked them what they wanted ;" on which they answered, "They must have peace with the English."

The peace was not however of long duration, for the Corsairs could not keep their itching fingers from the English spoil. One of their finest men-of-war returned to Algiers one day almost a total wreck ; she had got in among the English Newfoundland fishing fleet, had destroyed seventeen vessels and carried off their crews ; when unluckily she fell in with an English frigate which gave her a severe mauling, the Corsair only escaping capture under cover of a dark and stormy night.

The whole city was thrown into an uproar ; the Dái was obliged to put the English Consul into prison, ostensibly to punish him, really to secure him from the fury of the mob. War was again declared, and again the Algerine ships were captured or sunk by our men-of-war, until the Turks found by repeated experience that war with English infidels was too dangerous and unprofitable ; after many such renewals of the struggle, peace was at length concluded, the following being the principal stipulations :—

"That all English ships sailing south of Cape Finisterre should carry passes, which should exempt them from search.

"That a Turkish boat boarding an English ship to examine her pass, should only carry two men besides its rowers." This was to provide against the Algerine practice of seizing a ship, destroying her pass, and then swearing that she had none.

"That English passengers and goods on foreign ships should not be liable to capture ; but that Englishmen serving under a foreign flag might be treated as subjects of that flag and enslaved."

About this time the Dutch also succeeded in forcing a peace on Algiers by cruising against the pirates. The

consequence was, that the Algerines began to make prizes of French vessels ; for they could not afford to be at peace with all the maritime nations at the same time ; or, as they expressed it, they might as well go back to camel-driving. When the Dái urged upon them the loss and damage to the cruisers of the State from the English and Dutch, they replied that " Those should never sow who are afraid of the sparrows." But they soon drew down upon themselves the heaviest chastisement which they had as yet received.

Louis the Fourteenth was well pleased that Algiers should ruin the trade of Spain, but he was too much *Le Grand Monarque* to cringe to the Corsairs. He demanded reparation, and sent a fleet to enforce it ; but the winds were baffling, and the armament could not approach Algiers. The Turks retaliated by sending their galleys to the coasts of Provence and Languedoc, where they committed the most frightful ravages. Next year the French fleet returned under Admiral Duquesne, and furiously bombarded the city. The streets ran with blood, and the terrified Dái offered to surrender ; but the soldiery rose in revolt and murdered him, and made the Captain-General of the galleys, Mezzomorto,* Dái in his stead.

The French Consul had got safe away, leaving the venerable Jean le Vacher, Vicar Apostolic, who had laboured for more than thirty years to alleviate the sufferings of the Christian captives, in charge of his office. Mezzomorto defied the French, and when they renewed the bombardment he had the old priest, and twenty other Frenchmen with him, blown from the mouths of guns. Duquesne threw six thousand bombs into the town, and then withdrew for want of ammunition.

* Some authors say that this strange nickname was given to him from his cadaverous appearance ; others, because he had been left for dead in a sea-fight with the Christians. He afterwards became Kapitan Pasha of the Ottoman fleet, and commanded in the Levant against the Venetians, and in the Black Sea against the Russians, and proved himself a skilful seaman and fortunate commander.

Next year the Algerines sulkily granted the French demands, and made peace, not caring to risk another visitation. But their obstinate pride would not let them rest under this humiliation, and they renewed their outrages on French subjects, till Louis was provoked into sending another fleet against Algiers in 1688, under the command of Marshal d'Estrées, with orders to effectually finish the business this time. As D'Estrées would not trust a messenger in the hands of the Turks, he sent his ultimatum ashore on a floating board with a flag stuck in it. Mezzomorto sent him back a letter by an English sea-captain, who happened to be then in Algiers, to the effect that, "if he were a man, he should come ashore and fight him, cruise the seas, or pass his broadsides on the castles. In such case his Majesty's subjects should remain with their lives; but if he came upon them like a thief in the night with his bombs, the first man at the mouth of a gun shall be the Consul, then the Padre Vicaire, and so forward as shall be thought fit."

D'Estrées threatened to hang the Englishman for bringing him such a letter, and immediately commenced the bombardment. Mezzomorto was as good as his word, and blew the French Consul and the Vicar Apostolic and forty-seven other Frenchmen from the mouths of guns. The French flotilla lay before Algiers several weeks, threw thirteen thousand bombs into the city, and reduced it to a heap of ruins. The Corsair fleet was set on fire and destroyed. Still, the Turks would not show the white feather, and D'Estrées had to leave them alone when his ammunition was all expended, and return to France without bringing them to terms. After a decent interval, however, they yielded to the French demands; but this peace, though necessary, was so mortifying to their pride, and so unpopular with them, that Mezzomorto thought it advisable to abdicate the Deyship, and he took service under the Sultan in the Ottoman fleet.

This was the heaviest blow the Algerines had yet re-

ceived; and indeed they never recovered their former prestige and power. Their renewed navy only amounted to twenty-five ships, of from twenty to sixty guns, with a few galleys. After this they became positively civil to the French and English, and never provoked a war with either power during the whole of the eighteenth century. It is curious that Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has scarcely even alluded to the French bombardments of Algiers, while he has devoted a whole chapter to the account of Lord Exmouth's attack upon the pirate city in 1816.

The relations of the Barbaresque Regencies to their Suzerain, the Ottoman Sultan, are incomprehensible to the European mind. Theoretically, the African Corsair cities were integral parts of the Ottoman Empire. All money was coined in the Sultan's name, and he was prayed for in the Gamias (mosques) as the lawful sovereign. Yet the Regencies flew their own flags, and the Dáís and Pashas made treaties and agreements with foreign nations as if they were sovereign powers.

In the year 1627 six Tunisian pirate ships chased some Christian ships, which took refuge in the Turkish port of Rhodes, and there took and plundered them, though the Governor fired on them from the castle. They afterwards captured a Dutch ship which had laden at Alexandria, and then put into the port of Salines in Cyprus, where one Dutch and two Venetian ships were lying. As they were afraid to tackle all these together, they proposed to the Dutch captain to remain neutral; to which he agreed, not knowing how they had just served his compatriot. They then attacked the Venetian ships, captured one, and drove the other ashore. They next sailed to Iskanderoon (Alexandretta), on the Syrian coast, took two Dutch ships lying in the harbour, and landed and sacked the English and Dutch factories there, plundering and destroying about £10,000 worth of property belonging to the former and £30,000 worth belonging to the latter; they also set fire to the town. The Turkish Agha and officials fled. The

Sultan took no notice of these outrages on his own territory. On the contrary, as long as the victims of the Corsairs were only Christians, whether his own subjects or not, he winked at their excesses, and tried to protect them from the vengeance of their enemies.

In the year 1638, Ali Pichinin collected sixteen galleys of Algiers and Tunis at Biserta, and started to surprise the Santa Casa at Loretto, where great treasures were known to have been accumulated by the votive offerings of Christian piety. However, his design was betrayed or suspected, and when he arrived off Loretto he found the shrine too strongly guarded to attempt it.

The Turks solaced themselves by ravaging the adjacent coasts, sacking villages, churches, and convents, and carrying off a number of nuns to recruit their harems. As the alarm spread, they passed on up the Adriatic, and ravaged the coasts and islands belonging to Venice.

They were about to return, laden with spoil, when they were overtaken by a fleet of two galliasses and twenty-eight galleys, which the Venetians had hastily fitted out to attack them under the command of Marino Capello. The Corsairs took refuge in the Turkish seaport of Valona, on the coast of Epirus, and Capello blockaded them there. One night Ali tried to slip past the Venetians; but they headed him, and cut off several of his galleys. The rest again took refuge under the guns of Valona, which fired on the Venetians to check their pursuit. Ali Pichinin landed his crews and his plunder, and encamped on shore, hoping to tire out the patience of the Venetians; but Capello brought his galleys close in and cannonaded the Corsair camp, and in the confusion he sent in his boats and cut out all the pirate galleys. During the cannonade a Venetian cannon-shot by chance struck a Turkish mosque in Valona.

Sultan Murad was furious when he heard of this affair, and insisted on the Venetians surrendering the captured galleys, that they might be restored to the Corsairs. To avoid compliance, the Venetians sank all the prizes off

Corfu. They were eventually, however, obliged to pay the sum of 250,000 gold sequins as compensation, to avoid a war with "the Grand Signior." The Sultan offered to supply the Corsairs with sixteen new galleys, provided that they would engage to cruise against the Maltese and Florentines in the Levant; but Ali Pichinin, misliking the job, civilly declined his offer, and himself built two galleys to carry his crews back to Africa, having got rid of his slaves and spoil for cash in Turkey.

When the Turks made war on Venice to obtain possession of Crete, the Barbary Regencies sent all their ships and troops to the aid of their Suzerain, and they took part in the sieges of Canea and Candia. The Algerines sent a fleet of twelve ships to the Levant to aid the Sultan against the Venetians, when the latter declared war against him after the defeat of the Turks before Vienna by John Sobieski; and in the eighteenth century they sent a squadron to cruise against the Russians in the Levant. Later still, they gave aid to the Sultan in the struggle with his revolted Greek subjects; and the Bey of Tunis sent a military contingent to serve under the banner of the Sultan in the Crimean war.

(To be continued.)

OLD FACTORY LIFE IN INDIA.

THE Rev. Mr. Ovington's "Voyage to Surat in 1689," was for many years one of the most famous books that had ever been published on the early English settlements in India. It was not merely a story of the voyage, although that would be interesting enough to old sailors. It brings together in a pleasant, but garrulous form, the information accumulated by an intelligent and well-educated chaplain during a residence of three months at Bombay, and nearly three years at Surat, or from 1690 to 1692. Much of the subject-matter is imperfect or obsolete, and would be intolerably dull to general readers; but the description of Bombay, which in those days was an infant settlement, and of the daily life of the English at Surat, which had been the headquarters of the East India Company for nearly a century, is unparalleled in English literature. The book is, perhaps, forgotten now, or known only to antiquarians; but the pictures of life in the factory, and the relations of the factors with native merchants and Moghul authorities, are interesting for all time.

Mr. Ovington sailed from Gravesend on the 11th April, 1689, on board the *Benjamin*, a ship which was sent out by the East India Company to carry the news of the "glorious Revolution," and accession of William and Mary, to their settlements in the eastern seas. After a voyage of more than thirteen months, the *Benjamin* anchored in Bombay harbour, on the 29th of May, 1690, just as the south-west monsoon was expected to burst; and there the ship was compelled to remain for more than three months, until the coast was once more open to navigation.

In those days the little island of Bombay was one of the

most unhealthy settlements for Englishmen in India. It was not so to Portuguese, or to natives who lived more abstemiously, especially in regard to flesh meat and strong liquors; but to Englishmen, especially those who were new to India, the climate was deadly; and this was markedly so during the monsoon, which lasted from May to October. Mr. Ovington was offered the strongest temptations to stop at Bombay, but was compelled to refuse out of downright fear of losing his life. Out of twenty-four passengers on board the *Benjamin*, twenty were buried before the rains were over; and Mr. Ovington had reasons of his own for believing that had he stayed till October, he would have shared the same fate. Fortunately, the ship left for Surat in September, a voyage of nearly 200 miles; and he recovered his health so rapidly that by the time he had gone half-way to Surat he began to experience a change in spirits as different as the taste of wine from that of water, and threw off the oppression under which he had laboured during the latter part of his enforced stay at Bombay.

In after years it was discovered that the unhealthiness of Bombay was caused by the dense groves of cocoa nut, manured by rotten fish, which covered the greater part of the island, and shut out the sea-breezes from the little settlement inside the harbour. This evil was probably aggravated by the salt marshes, which have long since disappeared. The air was poisoned by malarious vapours from which the island has been delivered by British enterprise; and Bombay has become one of the healthiest cities in India. Mr. Ovington considered that these physical evils were due to the intemperance and other vices of the English settlers. He mentions, however, as a proof of the vitiated atmosphere during the monsoon, that spiders grew as large as a man's thumb, and toads to the size of small ducks. Wounds and contusions were very rarely healed during the monsoon. In a word, such was the mortality at Bombay, that a proverb was current, to the effect that a man's life only lasted for two monsoons.

Apart from considerations of health, Bombay must have been a convenient residence for Englishmen. It was a town under English rule and law ; and the East India Company was sovereign throughout the island. There was nothing to fear from the Moghul authorities, who were paramount at Surat. They were cut off from the Moghuls by the Mahrattas, who also were beginning to be a terror to India, but, as yet, seem to have avoided as far as possible any collision with Europeans.

At Surat circumstances were altogether changed. There the Great Moghul, the once famous Aurangzeb, was sovereign and emperor. The city was the emporium of the Moghul empire, and the resort of Mohammedan pilgrims going to Mecca or returning to their homes in India. The servants of the East India Company occupied a factory, and were more or less confined within its walls, and subject to all the inconveniences and dangers of living under Mohammedan rule ; but the central position of Surat in those days, as a seat of trade, led them to disregard all minor evils. It was in direct communication with Agra, Delhi, and Lahore ; and the English had done a thriving business in their factory for more than eighty years.

The town of Surat was between two and three English miles in circumference. It was fortified with walls and a castle, and was sometimes threatened by the Mahrattas from the Deccan. Some of the houses were good ; but the bulk of the inhabitants lived in mean habitations, the richer sort carefully concealing every appearance of wealth, lest they should be despoiled by the Moghuls. Some of the streets were narrow, but those near the bazaar were more populous than any part of London, and so thronged at evening time with merchants offering their goods for sale, that it was difficult to pass through them. Goods were brought by sea, not only from Europe, but from China, Persia and Arabia. The goods were also brought down from Delhi, Agra and more remote parts of India on dromedaries, asses, camels, and waggons ; horses being too valuable

to be employed as baggage animals, and being required for service in the Moghul cavalry.

At Surat there was a Governor of the castle, who kept within the walls, and a Governor of the city, who was in charge of all civil affairs. He generally remained at home for the despatch of business, but sometimes took the air on an elephant seated in a chair of state, with a servant to fan him and drive away the flies. There was also a Kazi, or judge, a news-writer who sent a report every week of all that passed to the Great Moghul, and a Kotwal, or justice of the peace, who scoured the streets at night with a band of armed followers. Disturbances, however, were very rare, and for twenty years there had been no capital punishment at Surat.

Mr. Ovington has much to say about the Banyans, or Hindu merchants or brokers, the Fakirs, or Mohammedan mendicants, the Parsis, and other communities at Surat. But the English factory is the centre of interest. It was sufficiently large to lodge forty persons, besides the apartments awarded to the President. It did not belong to the East India Company; for neither subjects nor foreigners were allowed to have houses or lands in proprietary right under the jurisdiction of the Moghul. The factory was hired to the Company on a yearly rental; but Aurangzeb was a kind and liberal landlord. He exacted a rent of £60 a year, but seldom received it, permitting the money to be spent on repairs or additions.

Next to the President was the Accountant, the Store keeper, and the Purser-marine, and these four made up the Council of the factory. The Secretary attended their consultations, and stood candidate for the first vacancy in Council. The Chaplain, and the senior and junior factors, writers, and apprentices, made up the rest of the English establishment in the factory. These all remained in their various stations for three or five years, or as many as they and the Company had agreed upon at their first coming out, before they rose to new degrees, as from apprentice to

writer, from writer to factor. For every step they took in promotion the Company raised their salary and allowed them some new privilege. They all had their diet and lodgings gratis, besides wages and the liberty of traffic to all parts in the East. Thus, those who traded with China commonly made cent. per cent. ; and sometimes 50 per cent. could be made by simply carrying out silver and bringing back gold. Those Company's servants who had good credit but small fortunes, could always borrow money from the Banyans for China at 25 per cent., and that only to be paid upon the safe arrival of the ship ; for if she miscarried in the voyage, the principal and interest were alike forfeited.

Forty or fifty peons, or native messengers, were kept in the Company's pay for the despatch of business and attendance on the President and Council. They waited on the President every morning, to receive his commands for the day, and appeared before him in a body in the evening to pay him homage, who then at his pleasure dismissed them with a nod to their homes in the city. The President was also allowed several additional peons for his personal attendants ; two were allowed to the second in Council, and one each to the Minister and rest of the Council and Secretary.

The President was paid a yearly salary of £300 ; the second in Council £120, the senior factors who were on the Council £40, the junior factors £15, and the writers £7. The Council and Secretary had also several advantageous perquisites belonging to their places. The peons received monthly wages of four rupees each, and the captain six rupees. At the beginning of the month they paid their respects to the President, who directed the steward to distribute the wages. Their honesty was most remarkable. No one had been accused of theft for many years. Every night the butlers took an account of the plate before they departed to their homes, that they might be examined before they left the factory if any article was missing. No one was allowed to leave the factory, whether to lie abroad or go into the country, without the permission of the

President. The porter, who kept the gate day and night, was equally careful to admit no one within the precincts of whom he was at all doubtful.

Every day a public table was prepared for the President and other English members of the establishment of the factory, who took their seats according to seniority in the Company's service. The table was spread with the choicest meat that could be procured in Surat and the surrounding country; and Shiraz wine and arrack punch were served to all present. Two or three cooks and as many butchers were employed in the preparation of the entertainment. Europe wines and English beer were most coveted, and though sold at high rates, were purchased and drunk with pleasure. At supper the President and Council were present by themselves, as they only met at this meal for the maintenance of a friendly correspondence, and prevention of jealousies and animosities. All the dishes, plates, and drinking-cups were of pure silver. The cooks were English, Portuguese, and Indian, so as to give variety to every meal. The Indian dishes included pilau, or boiled rice intermixed with spices and a boiled fowl in the middle; dumpoked fowl, or fowl boiled with butter and stuffed with raisins and almonds; kabobs, or small pieces of beef or mutton, sprinkled with salt and pepper, dipped with oil and garlic, and roasted on a spit with sweet herbs put between every piece. Bamboo and mango achar, and soy sauce were always ready to whet the appetite.

On Sundays and public days the entertainments were more splendid. Deer and antelopes, peacocks, hares, partridges, and all kinds of Persian fruit were provided; and European as well as Persian wines were drunk with temperance and alacrity. Then the health of the King, and afterwards that of the Company, were sent round the table to the lowest writer that sat down. When the repast was over, the President generally invited the whole factory abroad to some pleasant garden without the city, where they might sit down in the shade near tanks and water-

works. The President and his lady were brought hither in palanquins. Before him, at a little distance, were carried two large flags, with curious Persian or Arab horses of great value and rich in their trappings. The captain of the peons on horseback led forty or fifty of his men on foot. The members of Council followed in large coaches, all open, except their wives were with them, each one drawn by a pair of stately oxen. The rest of the factors followed, either in coaches or hackeries, or on horseback. In this pompous procession the President travelled through the heart of the city whenever he went abroad. This struck the natives with great respect for the English, and induced them to place a value on their friendship and intimacy.

For buying and selling the goods of the Company, brokers were appointed of the banyan caste, who were skilled in the quality and value of all commodities. These were allowed a commission of three per cent. for their care and trouble. Once a year, at their grand festival, known as the Dewali, they made presents to the President and Council, the minister, surgeon, and all the factors and writers, much like the custom of new year's gifts in England. These presents were always something valuable, either in jewels, plate, or silks, according to their several stations. In this way the young factors, besides their salaries, diet, and lodgings, were supplied with a sufficiency of clothing for the greater part of the year. Besides these gratuities, the minister and surgeon were rarely forgotten by the President at Christmas time, and were liberally rewarded whenever there was occasion for their services. The surgeon, too, whose salary was about £40 a year, gained considerably by his outward practice.

The minister received a stated salary of £100 a year, with diet and convenient lodgings, a peon to attend him in his chamber, and the command of a coach or a horse whenever he thought fit to use them. He also received many private gifts from merchants and masters of ships,

as well as noble gratuities for officiating at marriages, baptisms, and burials. He enjoyed a precedence next to the second in the factory, and could not have been treated with more respect had he been Primate of Hindustan. He preached a sermon every Sunday, and held divine service three times. On every other day in the week, he read the prayers in the chapel, namely, about six o'clock in the morning, before the factors went to business, and eight o'clock at night, after all was over. He was engaged to catechize all the youth, and to visit all the subordinate factories on the coast of Malabar. The chapel was within the factory, decently embellished, but without the figure of any living creature, so as to avoid giving offence to the Mohammedans, who were well pleased with the innocence of the Protestant worship.

On the 27th of August, 1691, the English factory at Surat was surrounded by a body of horse and foot, under the orders of the Governor of the city; and the French and Dutch factories were invested in like manner. A wealthy Turk, named Abdul Gheford, who carried on a large trade in the Red Sea, had charged Europeans of these three nations with having attacked one of his ships on a return voyage from Mocha, overpowered the Turkish crew, and plundered the cargo to the value of nine lakhs of rupees, or more than £100,000 sterling. The pirates had shown the flags of each of the three nations, English, French, and Dutch; and the Governor of Surat had placed guards round all their factories, until the amount of compensation should be paid.

Mr. Bartholomew Harris, the President of the English factory, laboured hard to mollify the Governor. He pledged himself to give full satisfaction, if it could be proved that the pirate ship belonged to the English East India Company. He urged that Abdul Gheford had previously brought a false charge of piracy against the English, which his own sailors admitted to be utterly untrue, and, indeed, confessed that they had been bribed by their master to

perjure themselves, in order to enable him to claim compensation.

The Governor of Surat was on his part anxious to relieve the factories. So long as they were closed, there was a general stoppage of trade, and no customs duties received in the Surat treasury. Accordingly he wrote to the great Aurangzeb, and begged that the guards might be withdrawn from the English, who were held chiefly responsible for the amount of compensation. Meanwhile Abdul Gheford and his exasperated Turks were more violent than ever. They urged that the English should be confined, not only within the factory walls, but within their very chambers. The Governor, however, said that he knew Mr. Harris too well to suppose that he would yield under any pressure to a demand which was so injurious to the honour and interest of the East India Company. He increased the number of guards round the factory; but this was not so much to prevent the English from coming out, as to prevent the Turks from breaking in and taking the law into their own hands.

Fortunately at this crisis, the Turks began to quarrel amongst themselves; and some of them confessed to a Parsi merchant at Surat that the charge was false, and that the piracy had been really committed by Danes, who had cause of enmity against the Moghul. This was confirmed by the Danes themselves, who boasted of their exploit, and threatened to do the great Moghul further injury unless certain grievances were redressed. Aurangzeb sent orders for the English to be released and encouraged to resume their traffic; but their confinement lasted many weeks longer. There were intrigues at the Moghul court for the removal of the Governor of Surat and the appointment of another grandee in his room. At last, on the 3rd of December, after an imprisonment of nearly four months, the guards were withdrawn, and the English were again at liberty to carry on their business in the factory.

J. TALBOYS WHEELER.

CHILD MARRIAGE AND ENFORCED WIDOWHOOD IN INDIA.

BY A BRAHMIN OFFICIAL.

It appears from the columns of *The Times* of the 13th and the 20th Sept., 1895, that a great sensation is created in England about child marriage and enforced widowhood in India. But England is not India, and the question is, what interest has the subject created *in* India?

The list of names, mentioned in some former issue of *The Times*, of the Indian gentlemen who agree with Mr. Malabari, mainly shows persons who have received an English education, or who, more or less, share Western ideas of civilization; but they are not the representatives of the great Hindu Society in the vast peninsula of the Indian Empire, nor can it be said that every man is uncivilized or uncultured because he has not received an English education or has no idea of Western civilization. The social problem in India is even more difficult and delicate than the political one. Hindu Society in the upper castes, knows only birth, not rank, learning, wealth, or reputation. A justice of the High Court, a M.A., B.L., a big Zamindar, and a great reformer, are the same to it as its humblest, uneducated, poor, and insignificant member, when there is any social matter in question; and, therefore, in such matters as these, the opinion of the few "enlightened" and English-educated persons should not be considered as sufficient to convince the English public, but the opinion of all the upper-caste Hindus, who are not educated in English, from every part of India, should be taken, before any suggestion is made to the Government of India to amend, repeal, or make any laws concerning the above-mentioned questions,

because those few gentlemen who sided—with more or less reservations, be it clearly understood—with Mr. Malabari, are not even hundreds in as many millions.

As regards the opinion of English ladies and gentlemen in England who have never seen India, it is utterly impossible for them to conceive what mischief they are doing in this matter ; they know absolutely nothing regarding the intricate and difficult nature of these problems ; and while they are innocently and honestly thinking that they are helping a movement in which all the people of India will gladly and gratefully join, they will, on the contrary, produce a very different and, indeed, an opposite result. I will mention the reason immediately.

Indeed, in this movement the Indian peoples, as such, are not represented at all ; and as it touches the very basis of Hindu Society and religion, an outcry will be raised throughout the length and breadth of India when they learn that a law has been passed affecting not only their ancient institutions, but also their religion. The result will be, that these laws will remain dead letters, like the Act for the Re-marriage of Hindu Widows, of 1856 ; but those who are already not well affected to Government officers, except outwardly, will be able to create great general dissatisfaction with them, by spreading the belief that the Government wants to make us all leave our religions and convert us to Christianity—a belief which, if it once takes root in the minds of the mass of the people, will be impossible to remove. The Government had some experience of the results of popular misapprehensions during the Mutiny of 1857 ; and I warn Englishmen, both in England and India, not to think for a moment of such an unwise step as to meddle with the internal management of the social and religious affairs of different tribes, castes, and denominations of Hindus in all parts of India. This will simply produce incalculable injury to Government, without doing any good to the people themselves.

I have said that Englishmen in England have no idea of

the harm they are doing ; and I add that Anglo-Indians, as such, of whatever rank or position, are not authorities on the subject, because their knowledge of these matters is derived either only through the translation of the laws of the Mithakshara and the Dayabhaga, or through personal conversation with English-educated natives, both of which sources are necessarily defective. An Anglo-Indian officer of high or low rank rarely mixes with the natives ; he generally keeps himself as much aloof as he possibly can, even if he does not hate everything that is *native*, consequently he can have no idea of their internal life ; and those who go to see him now and then are apt to say things to please him which they would not dare to express in their own social assemblage ; thus the officer is pleased and my friend remains in the good books of his own people.

I may state from personal experience, that in two cases of this nature that took place in my own brotherhood,—I can name them if I like,—in which “the enlightened leaders” who advised some of their friends to re-marry their widowed daughters, actually hid themselves in different places at the time of the marriage, to avoid the consequences, or rather the censure of society. *They* escaped, but their friends are still paying the penalty of their folly, are still outcasts and excommunicated, although in both instances they had removed the re-married daughters from their houses after their marriage. Both hold very respectable positions, are wealthy, and belong to very good families of high-caste Brahmins. I am almost certain that, with the exception, perhaps, of the Rajas,—though even this I doubt,—when the time comes for the “reformers” to face their social antagonists in any large assemblage of their brotherhood, very few will venture to defy the opinion of the majority, especially that of men of their father’s or grandfather’s age. How can they help themselves ? No caste-people would marry their sons or daughters, and no one would invite such a father to dinner, or

go to his house to dine. Excommunication is a terrible weapon in the hands of Hindu society, and the very fear of it makes anybody unhappy who has caste to lose. It is the Government that will be blamed if any pressure on social matters is encouraged by legislative enactment.

Now I may say a few words on the merits of the question itself. There are two subjects for consideration: one is child marriage, and the other enforced widowhood. The solution, perhaps, of the first is not so difficult as that of the second, although the first also assumes a serious aspect when it oversteps certain limits. Mr. Malabari is, no doubt, a very good man, and a disinterested worker in the cause of native interests; but it seems to me that in the zeal of his advocacy he has altogether lost sight of "the other side of the picture." The existing practice is solely attributed to historical causes, and especially to the effects of the Mohammedan invasion, but the ever-existing influence of climate, or the physical condition of the natives of India, is practically ignored, and the indissoluble connection of religion with Hindu social laws is also minimized. But both these factors have much to do with the system of early marriage. If the existence of the great Hindu law-giver Manu is not a myth, then unquestionably did he give his injunctions *before* the period of Mohammedan and Buddhist ascendancy in India, and not as stated by *The Times'* correspondent; and what does Manu say about the marriage of maiden daughters? Every girl should, according to him, be married before she arrives at the age of puberty, or the father commits a sin if he keeps her unmarried. Now, by compelling a father to keep his daughter unmarried till she arrives at a certain age, say sixteen or eighteen, you affect parental authority, as understood in India, and give the daughter full liberty to marry or not to marry, or to marry whomever she likes, because at the above age, or after she has arrived at her majority, she is already by law her own mistress, and no one has any control over her actions. In order, therefore, to achieve this result, so desired by the

so-called reformers and their superficial, though well-meaning, supporters in this country, Government will have to rule against the injunctions and laws of Manu and of other sages on this subject. Such a proceeding would not only interfere with the religious beliefs and prejudices of the people in general, but would also undermine parental authority over children; it will also affect the rules of guardianship, tutelage, and minority prescribed by the Hindu law. Had the civil laws of the Hindus been different from their religious injunctions, it would not have been so difficult to introduce the change; but the two being inextricably mixed together, it is as difficult as it is dangerous, after so many ages, to separate them now by the force of a foreign legislation. Any innovation by the direct order of the Government will be very unpleasant to the feelings of the mass of the people. They will undoubtedly consider that the Government intends to change their religion and nationality, and they will become a prey to agitators.

While I speak of early marriage, I do not mean to defend the marriage of "*infants*," in the proper and legal sense of the term. I too condemn the mistake or ignorance of those who have married their children much below the ordinary age of puberty in India. This abuse *can* be remedied; but not by compulsory legislation, because that will produce a contrary effect to what is intended. All extremes have to be avoided. According to Hindu law, it is not necessary that the consummation of marriage should take place immediately after the sacred ceremony of spiritual marriage is performed; on the contrary, the consummation of the natural marriage is expressly prohibited until the religious ceremonies of the Punar-ni-vaha are held, which is a great festival in celebration of the arrival of the wife at puberty. Only the lowest of the low defy that natural law. I deny the truth of the statement of the correspondent in the *Times*, that this defiance is of more than the very rarest occurrence,—say one in a million,—

and he has no right to parade it in the columns of the *Times*, and thus to mislead the English public.

Early marriage is a very ancient institution in India, and has many good and wholesome effects, if the rules on which it is based are not neglected or abused; for instance, when a "child-wife" (not a wife *under* 11 or 12) is brought to her husband's family, she is treated like a daughter of the family, and she acquires, as an almost invariable rule, a sincere affection and respect for all its members; and thereby less breach and separation occur in the "joint family," which is the basis of the Hindu social system, than under any other system. Whereas when a full-grown woman of mature age comes into the husband's family, she only cares for her own comfort and that of her husband; then very soon a breach amongst the members takes place, which results in the disintegration of the whole family. There are instances, no doubt, in ancient works, that girls used to select husbands, perhaps after the age of puberty; but these cases, I presume, were almost exclusively confined to the daughters of kings or ruling chiefs, of whom suitors were naturally diffident. However this may be, the selection of husbands by girls does not yet suit the demands of English civilization, and will, therefore, not yet be in fashion with Indian reformers.

Regarding the second point, *i.e.*, the remarriage of Hindu widows, the question is by far more intricate, troublesome, and serious, because the practice observed in the case of widows is invariably the same throughout India, in the three upper castes and among the Kayasthas; whereas, in respect of the early marriage of maiden girls, customs differ in different parts of the Empire, *i.e.*, some marry while they are infants, others just before they arrive at the age of puberty. It is a very difficult problem indeed to introduce a widow-marriage system amongst the upper castes of Hindus throughout the country, because the lower castes are not now restricted at all from marrying their widows. As I have already observed, the Hindu law of marriage is

not only a civil contract, but is also based on solemn principles of religion, and, therefore, any change that may be made in the system of marriage will produce an equal change in the religion. A Hindu widow is not only a civil widow, but also a religious widow, if I may use such a term; she is bound by religious injunctions to do certain things, and omit to do certain others; these acts or omissions confer upon her certain rights and privileges, which she enjoys during her life. She is not exactly the legal *persona* of her deceased husband in the sense of the Roman law, as stated by the *Times*' correspondent, but she is, no doubt, a very important heir of her lord, when the latter dies without issue; all the rights and privileges she enjoys are conditional, *i.e.*, she is a qualified heir, having no power of alienation except under certain circumstances—as long as she remains chaste, and does not again marry. It is her duty to perform the funeral and other religious ceremonies for the welfare of her deceased husband's soul; she can adopt a son by the previous order of her husband as by religion the sacramental relationship of marriage is never dissolved, even after the death of the husband; whatever she does—good or bad—is considered to affect the soul of the deceased, and this is one, and the greatest, reason that induces a widow to lead a chaste life in the hope of rejoining her husband in after life, as a recompense of her chastity and self-sacrifice. Now, to remarry such a widow means necessarily the cancellation of the Hindu law of succession and adoption, so far as the widow's rights are concerned, as well as of Stridhan (the special property of the females): not only will these laws be cancelled, but the most cherished religious ideas will also be destroyed, and the injunctions of the ancient sages will be set at nought. To the orthodox and non-English-educated Hindus of different castes and denominations, and also to their widows, who consider that a woman, if married once, cannot be married again, the second marriage is a sin, like that of prostitution. A change in the noble and sacred conception

of spiritual marriage, especially when made by the compulsory legislation of a foreign government, is, in my opinion, in the present state of Hindu society, at least premature ; such innovations will never be liked by the people in general ; it will upset the whole order and arrangement of Hindu society without producing any corresponding good.

Besides this, every Hindu does not die leaving a young widow, and every woman does not become a widow amongst the Hindus. Then again, to consider that remarriage is a safeguard for morality, is to take for granted that married women are free from sin ; but every one knows that when a woman wants to be bad, husband or no husband makes little difference. How many cases of divorce are daily being brought in the courts of the most civilized countries of the world in which the amplest liberty is given to women of all classes ! Has "*education taught them to use that liberty aright*" ? as suggested for India by the correspondent of the *Times*, who tries to remove the Himalaya of Hindu Society into the British Channel by proposals such as raising the age of the legal protection for females from twelve to thirteen, and by "*presuming*" that when a husband leaves property by will to his wife, he means her to remarry unless the contrary is stated, as if it were the most natural thing for a husband to wish his widow to remarry, or as if remarriage were not against the natural feelings of delicacy of widows in all countries !

It appears from the writings of some of the warmest advocates of female emancipation, that the women of India are treated worse than slaves ; that their parents, husbands, sons, brothers, and relatives have no consideration or sympathy for them ; and, finally, that they are now in very great danger, and that unless some effort is made by the gentlemen, and especially the ladies, of England to save them from their present misery and misfortune, there is no salvation for them. These statements are absurd and exaggerated. No home in this world is happier than the Hindu home. Nowhere are there fewer matrimonial

scandals; nowhere is the husband oftener "at home"; but, if Indian women are now less happy, what is it that has changed the position of the women in India, except that their condition is made worse by the English law in India? Were there not widows before? Was there not early marriage previous to the British rule in India? And yet the brave and warlike spirit of the fighting tribes had never been so high as during those days; and no public streets, even of the big cities, contained such a number of degraded women as can be found now almost in every small city of a small district in India, though, of course, the evil is still infinitesimal as compared with what exists in Europe. If we compare the morality of Indian women of the present day with that of fifty or even twenty-five years ago, I am compelled to say that we will find it difficult to advocate female enfranchisement in India after the Western fashion. Western civilization has given full and free scope to women, but the blessings of this have not been unmingled with curses; and if we ask the honest opinion of any right-minded Englishman on the subject, we will then, perhaps, hear that even England may have something to learn from our family system. Now, to ask for a direct compulsory legislation in India to prevent early marriage and enforce the re-marriage of the Hindu widows, is almost the same as trying to suppress the freedom of Englishwomen, to make them *Purdah-Nashin* (sitters behind the veil), and to prevent their re-marrying by the force of direct legislation. Such interference is infinitely worse in the Indian case, because religion plays a far more important part in Hindu, than in Christian, marriages. In only one sense is it right to say that the position of Indian women is worse than it was before, because since the enforcement of the Indian Penal Code, sec. 498, the husband has no legal remedy against the guilty wife, who is now exempted from all punishment, thus shocking all our sense of morality. The result of this section has been so harmful to the peace of society, and has so increased demoralization amongst the women of the

country, that thousands of homes have suffered from its effects, to which, alas ! the public streets bear testimony. When a married woman contracts a guilty alliance, she leaves her husband's roof and takes up her quarters in public thoroughfares of evil repute, either to save her paramour from the consequences of law, or to dishonour her husband and his relatives before the public. The present law does not help the husband, and so he is powerless to reach the guilty wife. Similarly, there is no remedy for a father, brother, or any relation, if the unmarried daughter of the family is enticed away, unless she is a minor, under the Indian Penal Code. According to Hindu law, the wife remains under their tutelage even when she arrives at her majority. Their guardianship is not cancelled by her marriage. The present law is disgraceful and heart-rending to the members of the family, but there is no help for it. Such laws do not suit the people of India ; and if they had any hand in making their own laws, they would never have allowed such offences, on the part of the women, to go unpunished.

The advocates of social reformation, instead of asking Government to break their ancient laws, should ask the Legislature to cancel the laws that have already been made by the Government respecting the exemption of women from punishment in cases like those above mentioned.

Besides this, the reformers ought to be very careful in asking an alien Government to make laws for the guidance of their women ; they ought to think more of the indigenous aspect of the subject. The English legislature will make laws in the English language which is not known to the masses of the natives : then these laws will be construed and interpreted by a thousand and one inconsistent rulings of the different High Courts, and finally, those rulings will be misunderstood by hundreds of judicial officers whose duty it is to administer justice amongst different classes of the people. Thus the result of the change will be something too fearful to contemplate in the great confusion and unsettle-

ment of all social landmarks that it will create. Besides, how many laws can you ask the Government to make regarding the social reform of the people? The Hindu woman is prohibited by religion from wearing shoes made of leather; some do not wear even sewn clothes. Will you make laws to compel fathers and husbands to oblige their daughters and wives to wear shoes and petticoats, in the interests of cow-killing or of European notions of female dress? Similarly, there are many other things that I need not mention here, but that might require change in the opinion of foreign irresponsible reformers, or of anglicized natives. Must we ask the Legislature to do all this for us, or shall we return the compliment, and ask the British Government of England to change whatever in England is repugnant to Indian ideas? I am filled with a sense of shame when I reflect on those unworthy sons of a country like India, the home of such renowned culture, learning and wisdom, asking for foreign aid, like helpless children, to regulate the improvement of the condition of their own women. England never asked anybody to help her in such matters, and what is the reason why these Indian gentlemen beg the aid of others to interpose in their household affairs? The reason is plain! all these reformers—with the exception of a few, perhaps—wish to introduce such reforms as may be personally advantageous to themselves, either to restore them to their own society, or to ingratiate themselves with Englishmen by means which would cost them nothing. They do not wish to sacrifice their own money, or their own comfort, in these important matters. A few signatures of more or less thorough adherents, some set speeches, half-a-dozen well-written petitions, they consider will be sufficient to secure their object; but they have selected a very dangerous instrument for their procedure. Why should these men not combine their own means, strength, and wit in securing a co-operation of their own people in different parts of the country, and by their powerful support, opinion and assistance, to introduce such reforms as are consistent with the

dictates of religion and consonant with the feelings of the people, and then to set the example by introducing these reforms *first in their own families*? Their pundits and scholars, in this respect, will be better friends to aid them than the people of the whole of Christendom. Besides, their support has a permanent value, and will produce a very beneficial result. I dare say, if people were only to try *this* method, and act indefatigably in *this* direction, they will no doubt succeed in the long run, on lines that shall neither revolutionize Indian society nor prove a source of eventual danger to stable government of any kind.

The attention of the reformers should be directed first to minor changes, such as preventing the excommunication of those who come to England for purposes of education or trade, or under the orders of a superior, and who honestly, whilst away from India, try to keep their caste and religion. In spite of all the reputation which Bengal enjoys as the foremost place of English civilization and education in India, every Bengali student from the upper-caste Hindus has been excommunicated, it matters not whether he stood first in the civil service, in law or medicine; and yet no step, up to the present moment, has been taken to remedy *this* evil. If the people have any objection to take him back into caste because he has eaten with a Christian (which I believe is a very just reason), then why should the wealthy men of Bengal not make some arrangement to prevent this? It *can* be done under proper and responsible supervision. In Bombay and Madras people suffer from similar disadvantages; but selfishness, indifference, and want of sympathy, prevent the people, who have the means, from effecting any real improvement in the condition of their fellow-brethren. Men will expend thousands of pounds in various ways, for the sake of pleasure, but will not part with a farthing for such reforms as these; while those who have the wish, are unfortunately unable to carry it out for want of means.

Unless English education gives us the spirit of English-

men, there is nothing left but platform speeches and newspaper writing, now the "be-all and the end-all" of English education for the natives of India.

But if the reformers are so helpless, so devoid of means, and so friendless in their own country, they should not be so eager and hasty to bring about a reformation. If they wish to drive the thin end of the wedge into social abuses, and introduce western civilization along with female freedom in their own country, they had better wait some years longer. The seeds of the social disintegration of India are already sown; the introduction of English education is gradually and steadily showing its effects; and the time is not very distant when the remnants of the ancient faith of Hinduism, as also of orthodox Islamism, will vanish, leaving the future generations quite a different nation—neither Hindu, nor Mohammedan, nor Christian—while they shall be as happy as you would be now if England were to leave you to-day without a needle to patch up your garment, without a medicine to cure your disease, and without clothes, of native manufacture, to cover your body, although you have mines of iron, forests of herbs and libraries of medical books, and although your cotton enriches the merchants of other countries—a happy state of affairs, indeed,—a pleasing dream of security! Live long, my countrymen, and indulge in the idea of abolishing your ancient institutions by the force of foreign legislation, instead of directing your minds to the maxim, that "Heaven helps those who help themselves."

A BRAHMIN OFFICIAL.

THE MAIN CAUSE OF THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ARAB DOMINION.

RARELY, if ever, in the history of mankind has a more striking example been presented of the attainment of glory and power by (1) a series of accidental circumstances, (2) the workings of the imagination, and (3) the determined will of a single individual, than in the case of the foundation of the Arab Dominion and the establishment of the religion of Islām.

Muhammad came not into the world with a flourish of trumpets. No one knew, and, indeed, he knew not himself at first, that he was to play so important a part in the world's history; and become, as it were, an instance of individual greatness, and the embodiment of national glory and religious enthusiasm. He remained obscure and unheeded until the time arrived when he, so to speak, commanded attention. And this he did so effectually, that he had the satisfaction of knowing, before his death, how firmly he had laid the foundation-stone of a Dominion which was destined to be among the greatest the world had ever known, and had sown the seeds of a religion which spread with marvellous rapidity to all the corners of the Old World.

The antecedents and life of the founder of Islām are too well known to require any detailed repetition; but it is necessary here to take cursory notice of a few facts, which may enable the reader to arrive at a just appreciation of the causes which led to the rise of the Arab Dominion and the promulgation of the Muhammadan faith.

Arab writers assert that Muhammad was a direct de-

scendant of Ishmael. Be that as it may, his family was one of the most noble among the tribe of Al-Kuraish. Abd-ullah, his father, died a few days before his birth; and it should be mentioned that Muhammad was an only son. According to the custom prevalent among the better classes of the Arabs, Muhammad was entrusted, soon after his birth, to a nurse of the name of Thueiba, and afterwards to Hatima, who became greatly attached to her charge. The first four years of Muhammad's life were spent in the company of his nurse, with the tribe of Bani Sād, in the desert not far from Mecca. During the sixth year he was with his mother Amīnah at Mecca. She then took him to Medinah, where she soon after died. His grandfather, Abd-ul-mutallib, then had sole charge of him until his death, two years later. At his death Abd-ullah, Muhammad's father, left but a poor inheritance to his widow and infant child. Abu-talib, his uncle, who was entrusted with the guardianship of the orphan, was also, comparatively speaking, a poor man : so that, at an early age, Muhammad was obliged to work for his livelihood. It should be pointed out that Muhammad had that kind of affectionate nature, possessed by those favoured persons who have the power of deeply loving the few, and are beloved and esteemed by all those with whom they come in contact. Sir W. Muir, in his "Life of Muhammad," gives an excellent description of Muhammad's early youth. He says :—

"Our authorities all agree in ascribing to the youth of Mahomet a correctness of deportment and purity of manners rare among the people of Mecca. His modesty is said to have been miraculously preserved. . . . Endowed with a refined mind and delicate taste, reserved and meditative, he lived much within himself; and the ponderings of his heart supplied occupation for leisure hours spent by men of a lower stamp in rude sports and profligacy. The fair character and honourable bearing of the unobtrusive youth won the approbation of his fellow-

citizens; and he received the title by common consent of Al-Amin, 'the Faithful.'"

There can be no doubt that Muhammad from his early youth exhibited signs of unusual intelligence; but many boys show great promise and afterwards disappear in the ocean of commonalty. What then are the causes which first led Muhammad to believe in himself, and then induced others to believe in him; and what are the means whereby he attained such unrivalled greatness?

Muhammad, it should be remembered, was of an excitable temperament. He was meditative, and loved solitude. And it may be assumed that his occupation as a shepherd helped to rouse those spiritual and poetical instincts which always exist, though they are often dormant, in the human breast. Thus, while tending his sheep or goats under the clear, blue sky of Mecca, his soul must have quickened with rapturous yearning to commune with the invisible Author of the majestic universe. The calm and death-like silence of the desert doubtless spoke to the susceptible youth with a voice thrilling to the soul. Then the brilliant moon at night, attended by her court of shining stars, must have stirred Muhammad's heart, until his mind peopled the whole universe with a creation which could only be the work of the supreme God.

It is well known that he was subject to epileptic fits when a child of four years old, and it should be borne in mind that primitive Arab superstition regards the epileptic subject as possessed by evil spirits. This superstitious belief could not have been unknown to Muhammad; and it is not improbable that this trifling accident may have induced him to attribute his own visitation to angels from heaven.

The fact, moreover, that he was in character and disposition unlike all others with whom he came in contact, the respect and love shown him by all, may have strengthened this belief. Again, the stimulus imparted to his ardent spirit in witnessing the fair at Ocādh must have

turned his mind towards higher things. This is alluded to in so happy a strain by Sir W. Muir, that I cannot do better than quote the passage:—

“The struggles for pre-eminence and the contests of eloquence at the annual fair, must have possessed, for the youthful Mahomet, a more engrossing interest than the combat of arms. At these spectacles, while his patriotism was aroused, and desire after personal distinction stimulated by the whole atmosphere of rivalry, he had rare opportunities of cultivating his own genius, and learning from the greatest masters and most perfect models, the art of poetry and the power of rhetoric. But another and a nobler lesson might be learned in the concourse of Ocādh. The Christianity, as well as the chivalry, of Arabia had representatives there; and, if we believe tradition, Mahomet, while a boy, heard Coss, the bishop of Najrān, preach a purer creed than that of Mecca, in accents which agitated and aroused his soul. And many at that fair, besides the venerable Coss, though influenced, it may be, by a less Catholic spirit, yet professed to believe in the same revelation from above, and preach the same good tidings. There, too, were Jews, serious and earnest men, surpassing the Christians in number, and equally with them appealing to an inspired Book. The scene thus annually witnessed by Mahomet as he advanced into mature years, had (we cannot doubt) a deep influence upon him. May there not have been here too the germ of his great catholic design, of that Faith around which the tribes of all Arabia were to rally?”

All this confirms the belief that accidental circumstances, trifling in themselves, gradually led Muhammad, viewing the lamentable state of religion of that time, to believe that he was chosen to fulfil a divine mission, the character of which was still undefined in his mind. But another trifling incident occurred to turn the current of Muhammad's thoughts. This was his meeting with the Nestorian monk, Bahīra, at Busra, while on a trading journey with

his guardian and uncle, Abu-t-alib. He was then nine years of age, according to the Arab historian, Abn-Athîr. It is related by this writer, as well as by other Arab authors, that the monk, after gazing on young Muhammad intently, and inquiring as to certain signs on his body, informed his uncle that the youth was destined for a high place of glory; and, indeed, the monk is reported to have expressed the belief that Muhammad was the divine apostle of God. Thirteen years later, while travelling on another mercantile expedition for Khadijah, the rich widow whom he afterwards married, he met, at the same place, another monk, who openly declared him to be a prophet. These incidents are elaborately dilated upon by his Arab biographers; but though there is evidently a good deal of exaggeration in the anecdotes, it cannot be doubted that Muhammad did meet with Christian monks during his early life, and was greatly influenced by them. Is it not natural to suppose that the monk may have been struck by young Muhammad's intelligent face, and have expressed his belief that the lad was destined for high places of honour? This, coming from a man respected for his learning, would have been sufficient for Muhammad's friends to magnify: especially, after he had proclaimed his mission. In any case, all records tend to show that Muhammad was deeply affected by this incident. Although he remained in doubt and hesitation until the age of forty, it must be accepted that soon after his marriage to Khadijah, at the age of twenty-five, he knew that he was to play an important part on the world's stage.

This will suffice to show the effect produced by the accident of circumstance.

The next point for consideration is, how the workings of the imagination prepared the way for the great revolution which was to follow.

It must always be borne in mind, that among all primitive people, especially in the East, the imagination plays an important part in their lives; and naturally, more credence

is given by them to trifles than would be the case among civilized nations. Hence; no sooner did Muhammad fancy that he was a prodigy, than he began slowly to form in his mind the materials of the structure of his future greatness. Credulity in things material, superstition regarding invisible causes of natural phenomena, were the characteristics of the nomad tribes of Arabia. Although inherently intelligent, and possessed of great perceptive faculties, they were, nevertheless, susceptible and sensitive, easily influenced for good or evil by a commanding spirit. Everything points to the fact that Muhammad was endowed with a remarkable capacity of understanding his fellow-creatures, and, like some of the great masters of ancient times, was born with the power of rapidly arriving at the natural consequence of a given cause, and rightly deducing the effects of a certain action. The gradual dawn of his belief, which was the outcome of accident, that he was to be the instrument of a great cause and a factor in bringing about a revolution in the world, impelled him to study with increased interest all objects that came under his notice. This greatly helped to develop and perfect the natural talents which he possessed. His relatives and friends aided in maturing his belief in himself. They began to be awed by his "uniqueness" and superiority. The ball was set rolling.

With a mind such as Muhammad possessed, it is impossible to conceive that he could have had any sympathy with the pagan religion of the people of Mecca. He looked around and reflected. The religion of the Jews seemed to him imperfect or wanting in finality; and he undoubtedly was more inclined to Christianity; but the abuses of that religion in his time had reached an excess which was abhorrent to his sense of the Divine. It is impossible to say what would have been the case had he been able to view Christianity in its higher and purer form. Was he to bring about a reform of religion, or found a new one? Here was his first great perplexity.

Muhammad, however, was no dreamer. He knew right well that if he hoped to succeed as a religious reformer, he must not be precipitate. It was not until he was forty-one years of age that he openly proclaimed himself a prophet, and the apostle of God. He waited until he was sure of his ground. There were many obstacles to overcome, many labours to be accomplished, before he could attain his aim. He steadily worked until he knew that he possessed sufficient power to convince those around him that he was what he afterwards proved himself to be.

To arrive at a proper understanding as to the means which caused the marvellous and rapid rise of the Arab Power and Islam, it is essential to form a thoroughly impartial view of the character which was the mortar for the foundation-stones of the great structure of the Arab Dominion. It was the life and character of the man, more than anything else, which stimulated his immediate followers, infused into their veins the fire of conviction, nerved their spirits and enabled them to attain such unrivalled glory. It was this which bound them together by an unbreakable bond of unity.

Muhammad was an enthusiast. There can be no doubt, moreover, that he honestly believed himself to be inspired. It is alleged that he played upon the credulity and ignorance of his followers. But what great leader is there—be he a soldier, a politician, or a philosopher—who has not used the powers he possessed : either deliberately to serve an end, or unintentionally ? Muhammad, undoubtedly, apart from a natural ambition of becoming a ruler of men, knew that with such a warlike race as the Arabs, it was necessary for him to offer them more material advantages than the revelation of a future life in eternal bliss. Believing, rightly or wrongly, that the human mind is incapable of fully appreciating the invisible and Divine, he at once set to work to invest future existence with an aspect which is both substantial and pleasing. He did not ask his followers to believe in the unfathomable, but he painted Paradise in

the most glowing colours that the imagination of man could conceive.

The die was now cast. He had determined to carry out his aim, and to succeed. Here, however, is an illustration of the power of human will.

He was persecuted at Mecca, but his persecution only added to his after-triumph. The early opposition which he encountered served as a provocation to unsheathe the sword; but, at first, it was only in self-defence. The success which attended his early efforts imparted to the Arabs the belief that the hand of God smote the enemies of the new religion. Inspired with this belief, his followers readily formed themselves into an aggressive army; and, with the fire of enthusiasm, carried all before them. Among the inducements which Muhammad offered to his followers, was their participation in the spoils of war. This fact in itself was sufficient to draw large numbers to his banner.

In Muhammad the Arabs found a leader as well as a divine messenger. It was the combination of the material with the spiritual which constituted Muhammad's power. As a founder of a religion only, he could never have gained so many stanch adherents; nor could he, as the founder of a dominion only, have attained his eventual success. Muhammad himself and Muhammadanism were the sole authors of the rise of the Arab Dominion.

Why should Islām have helped so materially in the foundation of the Arab Empire? Undoubtedly, because it is essentially a social as well as a religious institution; and its doctrines, as dictated by Muhammad, had the power of rousing human ambition. The Arab's character was particularly suited to receive the doctrines of Islām, because they appealed to his understanding and feelings, rather than to his faith in the invisible and impossible. The Kurān, moreover, supplied the Arabs with a code of law. It was a universal guide to them, spiritually, morally, and socially. It has become their standard work of prose, their

grammar and dictionary, so to speak, and the authority to which they refer, for all matters. Islām, moreover, is a socialistic religion. In his book on Muhammad and Muhammadanism, Mr. Bosworth Smith writes :—

“Muhammadanism, in fact, preaches equality almost as explicitly as does Christianity. ‘No more pride in ancestry,’ said Mohammed to the assembled Musalmans, the haughty Kuraish themselves among them; ‘ye Musalmans are all brothers, all equal’; and it must be admitted that Mohammedans have, from whatever causes, acted up to their creed in this respect more fully than have Christians. In India, for instance, Mohammedans make converts by hundreds from among the Hindus, while Christians with difficulty make ten, and this partly, at least, because they receive their converts on terms of entire social equality; while Europeans, in spite of all the efforts of missionaries to the contrary, seem either unwilling or unable to treat their converts as other than inferiors. The Hindu who becomes a Christian loses, therefore, his own cherished caste, without being admitted into that of his rulers. The Hindu who turns Mohammedan loses his narrow caste; but he becomes a member of the wide brotherhood of Islām.”

Another matter which assisted the establishment of Islām, and the Empire, was the remarkable diction of the Kurān. Muhammad, with remarkable eloquence, appealed to the Arabs in Arabic, the language of their race, which fact has the power of stimulating enthusiasm. Mark the influence which poets and orators, at all times and places, have exercised upon the literature, language, character, tendencies, superstition and beliefs of nations. How often has an eloquent appeal to the emotions led men to sacrifice their lives in a cause! Religious enthusiasm has claimed many thousand victims and martyrs. Patriotism was, and often is, the cause by which men unite, gather strength, fight, and conquer. Duty and honour, which are inherent in human nature, have often reconciled men to

death. "The attachment," says Gibbon, "of the Roman troops to their standards, was inspired by the united influence of religion and honour." Muhammad appealed to the religious enthusiasm, to the patriotism, to the sense of honour and duty of the Arabs. He also appealed to their ambition, to their avarice, and to their self-love. The Arabs, moreover, were astounded at the beauty of the language Muhammad employed in the Kurān. No wonder they believed it to be directly inspired. In Surah ii. it is written: "If ye be in doubt as to the revelation which we have made known to our servant, produce a work like unto it."

There were certainly imperfections in Muhammad's character. He was weak, which is only to say he was human. He took advantage of every chance and opportunity to further his aims, which is only to say he was sagacious; he enjoyed the benefits and pleasures of life, which is only to say he was a man; he did not pretend to be more. He was abstemious, simple in his living and dress, and he did not pretend to perform miracles. We find in Surah xiii.: "The unbelievers say, Unless a sign be sent down with him from his Lord, we will not believe. Thou art, however, only a preacher, O Muhammad!" The miracles attributed to him were only the phantoms of the imagination of his after-followers. The only miracle that Muhammad performed, was the production of the Kurān.

It is a common belief that the Kurān is responsible for the existence of slavery. This is most emphatically untrue. The whole spirit of the book condemns it. Slavery existed among the early Arabs in the same way that it existed in Europe and America, even to a comparatively recent date, in spite of civilization. But I must reserve to another occasion the treatment of this subject, and that of polygamy.

It has been alleged that Muhammad was sensual and licentious. There is absolutely no warrant for making such an assertion, bearing in mind the moral state of the

Arabs at his time. Judgment and inference proceed by comparison. Muhammad, indeed, did a great deal to raise the position of women. He laid down strict laws for divorce. In his farewell visit to Mount Arafat he addressed the pilgrims assembled, saying :—

“O, ye people, ye have rights over your wives, and they have rights over you. Treat your wives with kindness : verily ye have taken them on the security of God, and have made them lawful unto you by His words.”

It can be safely asserted that no man of mark since the foundation of Islām, had a greater respect for women and a keener appreciation of the beneficial influence of their gentle nature than Muhammad. Witness his grateful remembrance of his nurse Halima, the reverent love which he bore for his mother ; so that even at the age of forty he went to her tomb, and wept and prayed for her. In whom did he seek comfort and consolation, when doubting, hesitating, ill at ease, overwhelmed with the crisis of his life, not knowing how to proceed ? To whom did he go for relief and advice ? Whither did he tend his faltering steps but to the haven of his wife's affection ? It was to Khadijah, his wife, that he went in his moments of mental agony, after the vision in which it was alleged that he beheld Gabriel. A proof, however, of his doubt therein, was in his seeking his wife's counsel. Behold, the Muslim prophet, the founder of the great Arab Empire, like the lowliest peasant of the present day in England, seeks comfort and advice from his best friend—his wife ! Not only so, but he is actually influenced by what she says, and, in consequence, carries on his mission. This is also an incident, trifling it may be considered by some, but really all-important, for it helped, if it did not wholly cause, the existence of Islām and the rise of the Arab Dominion. It should also be stated that the first to embrace Islām was a woman, and that woman Muhammad's first wife. Witness again his death in the arms of his wife 'Aisha, seeking from her unto the last relief from the agonies

of death. Again, his addressing with his dying breath his daughter, playfully encouraging her to bear her loss, and saying that she would ere long join him in Paradise.

Could not one infer from a careful and impartial study of Muhammad's character the effect it would have upon a sensitive, intelligent, and warlike race?

Is it therefore surprising that the early Arabs, infused with the spirit of a religion which they understood, influenced by their admiration and respect of a man they loved, and stimulated with the ambition to attain martial glory, became thus animated by a three-fold power? Like a mighty whirlwind, they swept all before them, and well-nigh conquered the world. And with the Arab conquest spread the Arab religion and the Arab tongue. Arabic permeated most of the languages and dialects of Asia and Africa, and in a manner forced its way into some of those of Europe. Learning, science, art, and philosophy flourished at their time. The Arabs were the first to give new life to learning. They were the first to introduce the great Greek writers to the notice of the world. They kindled the lamp of learning which illumined the dark pages of history, and it may safely be assumed that were it not for the Arabs, Europe, the present centre of civilization and progress, would never have been irradiated by the bright light of knowledge.

Such were the Arabs and their rise.

So long as they maintained the true spirit of their religion, so long as they maintained that spirit of equality which enabled the lowliest to rise to the highest posts, so long as they curbed the reins of self-indulgence and luxury, they were able to maintain their power and glory.

But a change was to come. Having, under Divine Providence, dispersed the sable cloud of ignorance and given to the world the golden key of knowledge: having shown the height to which human power and energy can reach, and having indicated the road which leads to the advancement and amelioration of the human race—they abandoned their principles.

Then came their fall.

The canker-worm of ruin first began to gnaw at the foundation of the Arab Dominion with the fall of the Omeiyad dynasty, which took place in the year 750. Even then, however, the light of Arab glory was far from being extinguished. The court of Baghdad, under the Abbaside Khalifahs (especially during the life of the Barmecides), and the court of Cordova under the Omeiyad Khalifahs—surviving through the flight of Abdur-rahmān, the first Muslim Khalif in Europe,—were unequalled in splendour.

The seeds of rivalry and dissension, however, were sown: such dissension as was no longer limited to a few tribes and to a few bold adventurers—which ever follow in the track of a great enterprise—but dissension and rebellion of great and powerful leaders, supported by large armies. Thus gradually and surely the Arabs began to lose their strength; until, eventually, the last of the Arab Khalifs, Al-Mutawakkil, in Egypt, surrendered his title of “Khalifa of the Faithful” to the Turkish Sultan, Selim I.

What are the main causes of their fall?

These are many; but they may probably be summed up under the following headings, which are, really, only an amplification of the first:—

- I. Growing apathy to religious principles.
- II. Abuses of the precepts of the Kurān.
- III. Self-indulgence and sensual excesses.
- IV. Love of gold and luxury.
- V. Too great a confidence in their strength.
- VI. Intoxication of success.

These causes engendered unhealthy competition, rivalry, jealousy, hatred, dissension, and strife. And of this their enemies took advantage, just as they, for the same reasons and in the same manner, had formerly taken advantage of their enemies.

The bond of unity which gave them strength was weakened.

They severed religion from the temporal power, and they were doomed.

Religion is the back-bone of rule and government, especially of an Islamic State. If that be weakened, the whole fabric must in the end fall to the ground and crumble away.

How has the fall of the Arab Dominion affected Islam?

There can be no doubt that Muhammadanism ever since the fall of the Arabs has remained stationary: that is to say, it has stopped in its career of conversion, except in Africa; but it has lost none of its pristine vigour. The same cry of *Allahu Akbar*, which sounded above the tumult of war at the time of the earliest Arab conquest, can now be heard from the mosques of every Muhammadan town in the world. The freemasonry of a common faith still exists among all Muhammadans, in spite of differences of race and opinion.

If Muhammadans would only adhere more strictly to the dictates of their book of faith, if they would but endeavour to check abuses, Islām might still be a power for good, and would be far nearer to the true spirit of Christianity than any other religion. They would become far stronger and could more easily climb the ladder of progress, if they would but throw off the yoke of acquired custom, and recognise in themselves the vestiges of the glory, which the founders and supporters of their religion attained—a glory which has passed away, but which, as yet, has never been surpassed.

H. ANTHONY SALMONÉ.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE return of the Ameer Abdurrahman to Cabul, which was imminent in June, has now become an accomplished fact, and all anxiety on the subject of his continued absence in Turkestan affecting the tranquillity of the most important districts in his kingdom may be safely dismissed. The result, which is gratifying to the Indian Government as well as to the Ameer, reflects the highest credit on the administrative capacity of the Ameer's son, Habibullah. It also shows the strength and stability of the edifice which Abdurrahman has built up by his vigour among the unruly tribes of Afghanistan; and it warrants the belief that, with the support of the British Government, the Kingdom of Afghanistan may long continue to exist as one of the political divisions of Asia.

Since his return to Cabul the Ameer has been busily engaged in examining the expenditure during his absence, and in thoroughly overhauling the acts of the administration. So far as can be judged, he has discovered nothing with which he is seriously dissatisfied; and the satisfaction which he cannot but feel at this result will add much to his good opinion of his eldest son, and to the claims of that son to be regarded as his heir. The Ameer has also shown increased interest in the rifle and cannon foundry which Mr. Pyne has established at Cabul, and which is now capable of turning out a considerable number of guns and a large quantity of ammunition in a month. He is also credited with various warlike intentions, some in the direction of the Khyber, others up the Kunar Valley, and even an invasion of Kafiristan is stated to be within his contemplation. The latest information tends to show that

these statements are at the best much exaggerated, and that the Ameer is employed thinking of much more profitable matter than the prosecution of costly and dangerous enterprises in the remote corners of his territory.

The subjects which claim at present most of the Ameer's attention relate to the augmentation of his revenue by the increase either of trade or of the annual subsidy paid him by the Indian Government. Those questions are intimately connected with each other; and it seems clear that the Ameer will not obtain any increase to his subvention unless he accords facilities for trade between Afghanistan and India. There is more reason to suppose that he will do this than might be expected from the general tendency of his commercial policy during the ten years that his reign has now lasted. He has had some practical experience of what trade has done for Russian Central Asia; and he cannot help seeing that, whether he does it with a good grace or not, he will be unable to keep out permanently the traders of British India. The construction of the railway to Chaman must be followed at no distant date by its extension to Candahar. There is hardly any reason to suppose that the line west of Jamrud can be long deferred before it enters Afghan territory and reaches Jellalabad. In fact, the Ameer has already given some indication that he is not as hostile to railways as was supposed, by punishing a Momund chief who had adopted a hostile attitude towards the railway we are constructing in the Khyber. If Abdurrahman discountenances opposition to a railway which is being laid down in the direction of his capital, it stands to reason that he will not be very inflexible in opposing a railway to Candahar, especially when he realizes that his opposition will only result in the adoption of an alternative route through Beloochistan to Persia, by which neither he nor his subjects will benefit. After all, the Afghan ruler, notwithstanding his suspicion and self-reliance, keeps his eye open to the main chance. He believes with perfect faith

in the importance of possessing the sinews of war; and for him a growing revenue signifies increased security. If he appraises his services at a high figure, we cannot deny that he has rendered services. He has conformed to all his engagements, and he has more than realized the most favourable expectations we could have formed as to the advantage to our Central Asian policy that might accrue from the establishment of his authority over Afghanistan.

While the position in Afghanistan retains its present aspect there is not much ground for anxiety as to the great Central Asian question. Russia is most unlikely to provoke a collision with the Ameer so long as he preserves his present discreet and vigilant attitude. The consolidation of Abdurrahman's authority deprives her of one of her favourite excuses for interfering with the affairs of her neighbours, both in Asia and in Europe—the dissatisfaction or the ill-treatment of the subject population. As the Afghans have rarely been tranquil, and as their country has always been regarded as the home of internecine strife and confusion, the new order of things established by Abdurrahman introduces an entirely novel situation, and one which is as agreeable to us as it is the reverse to Russia. Of course, it may be said that there is no certainty of a united Afghanistan surviving the Ameer; and this is true to a certain extent, but every day is making it more probable that the Ameer possesses a suitable successor in his eldest son. Nor should it be overlooked that the health of the Ameer is better to-day than it was two years ago, and that there may remain for him long years of power and opportunity to benefit his country and people by the preservation of internal peace. Without committing ourselves to too sanguine a view of the situation, or ignoring the possibility of disturbances on the Afghan-Turcoman frontier, it cannot be denied that the continued tranquillity of Afghanistan, and the absence of any rival to the Ameer

possessing any hold on any of the Afghan factions provide us with valid reasons for regarding the future development of the Central Asian question with equanimity and confidence.

Although we are without further news of the Russian expedition to Tibet under the command of General Pevtsoff, the following telegram, sent by Reuter's agency, gives some interesting particulars of another Russian exploring party in High Asia :—" A letter has been received at Tashkent from Captain Grombtshevski, the Central Asian explorer, dated Kaljan, July 20, stating that, although he ascended the highlands of Tibet on May 21, frost and want of water compelled him to descend to the Kashgar Valley without having explored the region.

" At the end of the summer the captain proposed exploring the territory on the river Tiznaf and the lowlands of the Yarkand Daria, and in the autumn the Kashgar mountain range from the Yarkand up to the Great Kara Kul Lake. After reporting that the Commander of Kandshut has become a vassal of the Indian Government in consideration of an annual subsidy, the letter asserts that the English have restored the fort of Shah-i-Dulla Chodja, which they have occupied with Cashmere troops, and that they have thus taken possession of the territory of the Rashkem Daria, which is in every way suitable for cultivation. At the end of April, proceeds the writer, the Beg of Kandshut expelled the Chinese from the Pamir plateau. The British Consultate at Gilgit had been restored, and the boundaries of British dominion in the Pamir region were now only distant a three days' march from the Russian territory on the Kara Kul Lake."

Several important events have occurred in China during the last quarter. Of these, the most important is the Imperial proclamation recognising and legalizing the growth of opium within the Middle Kingdom. This act is significant for many reasons, but chiefly as showing that the Peking Government is resolved to raise as large a

revenue as it can, independently of the precarious customs, which depend not merely on China's ability to keep her place in the competition among the trading nations of the world, but also on her continued inclination to make her Imperial policy subservient to, or at least harmonious with international comity. Some facts may be recorded in connexion with this measure. In the first place, the poppy has been cultivated from time immemorial in the province of Yunnan. It has also been grown for many years in Szchuen, Manchuria, and other provinces. Of late its production has increased enormously, until it now threatens to oust Indian opium from the market. The governors of the provinces where it has been surreptitiously grown have derived their most profitable revenue and perquisites from this source. The practical point is, that the Chinese executive now recognises officially all these circumstances, and from its full knowledge of the facts, voluntarily places itself out of court with regard to any sentimental grievance it might advance against England on the ground of our having forced opium upon it in the past. Another fact is, that, whatever may happen, the Chinese Government is bound to keep its hold on the revenue derived from the most profitable crop in China, and the new regulation enables it to do so with the least amount of trouble and the largest of profit. These are already indications that Chinese opium is driving Indian out of the market; and although many authorities lay the flattering unction to their soul that Bengal or Malwa opium is essential to the palate of the Chinese epicure, the Chinese Government looks at the matter in a more practical light, and prefers to take steps to ensure the receipt of its full share in the benefit of the cultivation. Whichever way the national consumption takes, the Imperial Government is now certain to derive its full share in the benefit to be derived from the growth of opium, whether it reaches it in the form of excise or of customs.

The question of the Chinese navy has been brought prominently before the public by the resignation of Captain

Lang, whose services were lent by the British Government. There can be no doubt, that this step is a grievous mistake on the part of the Chinese, who are yet in the infancy stage of nautical knowledge. Of course, if China does not require a navy, this is immaterial, but as she has expended several millions in producing ironclads, and in founding naval stations like Port Arthur, it can scarcely be considered that she holds any such opinion. We are, therefore, compelled to express the conviction that China, by forcing Captain Lang to resign, has taken a step backwards, and one which she can ill afford to do in comparison with the progress made by both Russia and Japan in naval strength in the Pacific. Nor can we consider that China's antipathy to the construction of railways, which are absolutely essential in Manchuria, is of happy augury for China's progress in the future. It even justifies the question in response to the late Marquis Tseng's statement on "China, the Sleep and the Awakening," "Is China awake after all?"

D. B.

The scant apology of Maharajah Dhulip Singh for overt and persistent high-treason, has been graciously accepted by Her Majesty, on the wise counsel of Lord Cross. The effect will be excellent among the Sikhs, in still further discrediting a pretender, whose marriage with an Englishwoman had already thrown doubts on his "undying hatred" to England. Princess Ada, his wife, and Prince Victor, the ex-cadet, have to be congratulated on a result which is not unconnected with a stroke of apoplexy that still paralyses the Maharajah's right side. Curiously enough, it was not among the Sikhs, but among the anglicized natives of the Punjab, that the Maharajah Dhulip Singh had most of his following. At first, no doubt, the Sikh peasants thought that Dhulip Singh would reduce their taxation; but they soon learnt through their priests and the Sikh societies so loyal to our Government,

the Singh Sabhas, how worthless and hopeless were his pretensions. Still he was a card in Russia's hand, and might have been played with great effect in the event of an early complication on our northern frontier. We trust that care will be taken to let the masses in the Punjab know that Dhulip Singh has repented, and that forgiveness will be extended to those whom he has misled. To those who complain of the slowness of official routine, it will be surprising to find that the Maharajah apologized at Paris on the 27th of July, was forgiven, after due consideration by the India Office, on the 1st of August, and sent his thanks through his son on the 3rd of August.

Pressure has been put on the Government of India by a very influential and well-meaning, but, we fear, mischievous agitation in this country, to legislate on the dark subject of child-marriage and widow re-marriage among the Hindoos. It is to be feared, to judge by a telegram in the *Times* of the 23rd September, that Government will take up the age question in connection with matters that had better be left to the initiative of the leaders of the innumerable castes concerned, not one of which resembles the other in all social points, and for none of which a foreign legislation can lay down hard and fast rules.

D.

REVIEWS.

*An Official Tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina.**

"BOSNIA and Herzegovina, in spite of their proximity to Italy and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, have grown to be almost less known than the remotest districts under Mohammedan rule." "Islam, with its peculiar spirit and peculiar customs, has here, so to speak, been preserved in greater and more unbroken purity even than in the very centre and focus of the Mohammedan world. On the other hand, however, whilst effectually closing the country against all Western influence, it has, at the same time, preserved to it the manners and customs of the Middle Ages, with their society and social conditions in full activity; so that there is to be seen, on the one hand, a pure, unshaken Mohammedanism, and on the other, the life of the European Middle Ages, brought down to the present day, and permeating one another."

Austria, itself the most Oriental Government in Europe, seems singularly suited to preserve all that is good in the traditions of the various races under its rule, both in Bosnia and elsewhere. The autonomy of the Mohammedans in Bosnia is scrupulously observed so far as municipal or religious self-government is concerned. Indeed, Austria builds mosques for her Mohammedan subjects, thus emulating Russia in Central Asia, and being an example to us in India, where we only encourage those who are alike

* "An Official Tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina, with an Account of the History, Antiquities, Agrarian Conditions, Religion, Ethnology, Folk-Lore, and Social Life of the People." By T. DE ASBOTH, Member of the Hungarian Parliament. Authorized English Edition. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square. 1890.

irreverent to their own creeds and to our administration. The easy-going Austrians will suit a country like Bosnia, in which Christians and Mohammedans belonging to the same race live in amity with one another, whereas elsewhere ethnical differences accentuate religious animosities. The volume before us is a marvel of the author's industry and conscientiousness, and of the printer's art. It reflects the greatest credit on its publishers, who have brought out a work that must remain *the* book of reference on the subject. It is profusely illustrated with drawings, has an excellent map of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with historical data; and on every subject, whether "history," "geography and ethnography," "institutions, legal customs, coins, etc.," "literature, folklore, and philology," sums up everything which has been written on the subject. It is preceded by a detailed list of contents according to chapters, and concludes with a complete index of names. Some melodies are given in notes, and national customs are described with the simplicity and the *naïveté* of an observer on the spot. To us, as stated in the author's Preface, "in England, the greatest power in the Mohammedan world, the past history and present development of these provinces may without doubt count upon an intelligent interest."

We therefore quote, with special satisfaction, the following passages regarding Mohammedan women, which may tend to remove some of the ignorance and prejudice of the British Philistine on the subject :

"The Bosnian woman's dress displays her charms more openly than that of the European. In a few days the young man sends a ring, upon which his name is engraved. The wedding festivities, with music and ceaseless revels, last for eight days. At their close the bride is led in solemn procession, with music and gun-shots, to the bridegroom's house. The bride, clothed in fine linen, once more casts herself on the floor in the circle of her friends and female relations, to pray, with her forehead touching

the ground. All gradually withdraw ; and when the young wife, still in prayer, is left alone, her husband enters. The Bosnian woman, of all denominations and classes, is, as a rule, virtuous, and illicit adventures are rare. Especially as regards the Mohammedan woman, an European lady, who has had frequent opportunities of intercourse with her, has published opinions in a Serajevo newspaper very different from those generally current in the West.

In her, this lady by no means beholds the downtrodden, mindless, and unprincipled slave of the harem, that the Mohammedan woman is in Europe estimated to be. Healthily nurtured in unrestrained naturalness, she generally follows only the chosen of her heart, and becomes a faithful wife and good mother.

Our authority could not sufficiently praise the exemplary life which she met with everywhere. Faithlessness is almost unheard of ; and when it does occur, it stirs up the general moral consciousness to such a degree, that the guilty person is for ever expelled from the family circle and from respectable society ; and the indulgence so often vouchsafed to such circumstances in European society would be absolutely unexampled here. The faithful wife, the exemplary mother, is at the same time the most conscientious, the most economical, and the most unpretending of housewives ; and for that for which a foreigner may set little store by her, her husband prizes her all the more. She knows of nothing but her house and her family praise at which, doubtless, many an European husband heaves a sigh, whilst he thinks of his brilliant wife, who, with her civilized pretensions, destroys his property and his peace. Side by side with the "brilliant" ladies of European society walks the *demi-monde*, the prostitute, the female proletariat, the throng of old maids. All these are almost unknown in the East, especially where the European invasion has not yet penetrated. It is true that the Bosnian woman does not enjoy the school education that ours receives ; but from the arms of its mother a strong and

healthy human being proceeds, by the side of whose natural understanding our over-educated intellects often enough cut but a poor figure; and the needlework of our school-girls, in taste as well as in artistic execution, lags far behind the embroidery of the Mohammedan women, even though one throws in the "Cloches du Monastère" and "The Maiden's Prayer."

It will require great care if the intellectual level of the Bosnian woman is to be raised without the sacrifice of her priceless virtues. The honour in which the women are held, and that for which they are prized, is shown in the women's names: Shefika, the merciful; Aina, sparkling eyes; Shemsa, the sun; Vasia, she who beareth witness; Habiba, the lovable; Fatma, the good; Ashida, the quick-witted; Zlatka, the golden; Dervisha, the holy liver; Nuria, the God-enlightened; Sherifa, the noble; Hasna, the beautiful; Meira, Mary."

In conclusion, we may add that, as regards every denomination of Christians,—quaintly called Christ in one place,—the author is similarly candid and observant; whilst in all matters, whether of judicial or other administration, he seeks to lay the foundation of true culture on the development or preservation of indigenous civilization in harmony with what may really be suitable to it in so-called modern progress.

This handsome volume, of nearly 500 royal octavo pages, is published at a price that puts it within the reach of most readers.

G. W. L.

Nepal and India.

MR. WILLIAM DIGBY, C.I.E., has published a book of about 150 octavo pages, entitled "A Friend in Need, 1857—Friendship Forgotten, 1887" (Indian Political Agency, Craven Street, Charing Cross, London). It is well got up, has a good map of India, and contains a num-

ber of portraits of Nepaulese grandees. Mr. Digby traces the history of Nepal and of our treaties with its rulers, and describes the bravery of their soldiers during the Mutiny, and especially the great services which they rendered to us in the relief of Lucknow. Lord Canning declared that the friendly Government of Maharajah Jung Bahadur, and "the success and exertions of his troops, would be held in grateful recollection not less in England than in India." This was in 1858; but in the present day all this is said to be forgotten. Sir Jung's brother succeeded as ruler, but was assassinated at the instigation of an ungrateful nephew, who now rules Nepal. The queen dowager, Sir Jung's daughter, and her cousins had to take refuge in Calcutta. They have implored the British Government to assist them in redeeming some of their property, which they have lost by this conspiracy and revolution. As yet they have failed, notwithstanding the interest taken in the matter by the Prince of Wales and the present Viceroy. Mr. Digby has produced the memorials, and other official documents which fortify his contention. The question involved, according to him, is not one merely relating to the just claims of Sir Jung's family, and that of his brother, who were equally faithful and devoted to the British Government; but the question also is, whether promises, by treaty and otherwise, made by the British Government are to be fulfilled or not. An Englishman's word was formerly as good as his bond. Is it so now? The answer to this question remains to be given. The appeal is now made through Mr. Digby's interesting volume to the people of England, in the earnest hope that justice will be done, and that a course of action will be taken, to show that England is not ungrateful of the unique and valuable services which the princes of Nepal and their brave troops rendered to us in our time of need.

B.

The Republics and Native Territories of South Africa.

THE author, MR. GEORGE MCCALL THEAL, has written a "History of South Africa" (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., London), replete with minute details as to the rise of the Republics and the relation and action of the Imperial Government of Britain, with respect to the territory containing the Diamond Fields. The inhabitants of these Republics were constantly embroiled with the frontier native tribes, and in particular with the powerful and famous Basuto chief Moshesh, who plundered and carried off the horses and cattle of the Dutch and other European settlers. Out of self-defence, and with great patience and endurance, they had to organize, and ultimately to combine a united force to punish the invaders and rescue their property. The astute action of Moshesh with his friendly tribes and his intercourse with the officials of the Imperial Government is minutely and graphically described. The author vindicates the policy of the Boers towards the natives as one of peace and good will; and that they were forced to go to war to secure the safety of their homes and the consolidation of their own settled government. The work contains many valuable State documents, and a very complete index, and ought to be carefully studied by those who wish to grasp the real history of a territory which has engaged the attention of English statesmen for many years, is rapidly increasing in wealth and population, is constantly adding to the commerce of England, and which has cost us so much anxiety and has occasioned so many tragic events. B.

*Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe.**

THE Committee for the Preservation of Egyptian Monuments is doing useful work. With the comparatively small means at its disposal—about £2,000 per annum—it

* *Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale, 1890.*

has repaired not only a large number of mosques, but also Coptic and other monuments. Its vigilance is even more praiseworthy than its outlay; for it protested against the demolition of the old fort Bourj-ej-Zefer, which the governor of Cairo had represented as a danger to the inhabitants and a refuge of criminals. Nor would it allow the plundering of the only Coptic necropolis (to the south of the town of Assouan) whence stela are sold as materials for construction at a rate sometimes as high as eight Egyptian piastres. The admissions to museums and to ancient mosques (we presume not in use) are also regulated by the Committee, which, to judge from the proceedings before us, owes its success to the enlightened patronage of the Khedive and to the able Egyptian and European members who compose it. L.

Races and Peoples, by Dr. D. BRINTON.*

THIS ripe scholar and unsurpassed authority on American archæology has ventured into the domain, both explored and unexplored, of ethnography. The volume before us presents the results of the latest and most accurate researches; though, as the learned and practical author himself admits, his compression of the science into a small octavo volume of 300 pages often compelled him to be superficial. Of this we will give one instance: "The population of the Indian peninsula to-day, who speak these (Sanskritic) dialects, and are more or less of Aryac blood, numbers nearly a hundred millions. They include the Rajputs, the Djats, the Hindoos, the *Hunzas*, and numerous other tribes and castes." If by *Hunzas* the inhabitants of one of the districts on a slope of the Pamir are meant, the most recent researches have proved their language to be a remnant of a pre-historic dialect, and the

* "*Races and Peoples*." Lectures on the Science of Ethnography, by DANIEL BRINTON, A.M., M.D. (August, 1890). N. D. C. Hodges, publisher, New York.

race to be of doubtful Aryan origin. Why Dr. Brinton should prefer the somewhat uncouth "Aryac" to "Aryan" we do not understand; the spelling he uses also shows the wide reading which he has had, for "Djat" is the German transliteration of our sturdy peasant friend the "Ját," and "Hindoos" is the unalloyed English spelling before Sir W. W. Hunter,—or shall we in justice to his system say "Hánter,"—gave it a pseudo-scientific, misleading, but not unpractical form. Then, again, why the Aryan population should "include Rajputs, the Djats, and the Hindoos," it is not easy to see; it would be more correct to say, that "Hindus include the Rajputs, Djats, etc." We notice that Dr. Brinton supports the present theory of the migration of the Aryans to the East, rather than the accepted view of the spread of the Indian or Central Asian Aryans to the West. The eminent Belgian naturalist, d'Omalins d'Halloy, in 1839, was the first to show "that the ancestors of the modern Europeans did not come from Asia, but belonged originally to the continent they now inhabit." Dr. Brinton supports this view with a wealth of argument and a felicity of diction which render his learning as palatable to his readers as the lectures, of which the volume before us is, practically, a carefully edited and annotated reproduction, must have been to his hearers. We trust that in his next course, the learned professor of linguistics will communicate to his students the most recent result of ethnographical research, namely, that the customs of a race, its history and physical surroundings, are of the greatest moment in determining its etymology and grammar, as has been so abundantly shown with regard to the language of Hunza. We strongly recommend Dr. Brinton's "Races and Peoples" to both beginners and scholars. We are not aware of any other recent work on the science of which it treats in the English language.

L.

*Polybiblion, Revue Bibliographique Universelle.**

WE have received the numbers for July and August. It would be hopeless to review the 192 pages of critical summaries of the more important books published during the above months, or to reproduce the Catalogues for the same period. The "Revue" is a monument of French bibliographical industry; and much of its contents will immortalize French learning and genius. No publisher, editor, or library should be without it, not to speak of the ever-growing collection known as the "Polybiblion."

R.

Zoologische Ergebnisse einer Reise in Niederländisch Ost-indien.†

THE University of Amsterdam allowed its learned Professor of Zoology sufficient leave of absence in order to study the sweet-water fauna of Dutch-India and their relation to the fauna of the Indian Archipelago generally, with those of the Indian continent and with Australia. A further object of Dr. Weber's research was the anatomy of certain mammals. Dr. Weber, however, has brought back a mass of material, not only zoological but also ethnographical and geological, which he intends to elaborate in co-operation with Zeurlitz, and of which the first volume is now before us. Dr. Weber was accompanied by his wife, and was aided by the Governor of Celebes, Mr. Braam Morris, in exploring portions of that island which were then still independent. He recognises the courtesy and public spirit with which every Dutch official, from the Governor-General to the humblest village schoolmaster, helped his arduous inquiries. Some of the chapters are in German, others in French, and Mr. F. A. Jentink contributes a learned disquisition in English. The following is said to be well known: "Many species of bats

* Paris, 1890, *aux bureaux du Polybiblion*.

† "Zoologische Ergebnisse einer Reise in Niederländisch Ost-indien." By Dr. MAX WEBER. First volume, with three maps, thirteen tables, and four zincographs. Leyden, 1890: E. J. Brill.

have occasionally two young at a birth ; and Dobson thinks it probable that (in that event) the male relieves the female of the charge of one, and at the same time performs the office of a nurse." The bulk of the volume is highly technical, and its anatomical details prevent further notice in a review of a general and non-professional character.

R.

*Dupleix.**

WHY this volume required editing we do not know. It certainly did not receive the peculiar transliteration which is known as the Hunterian system. For instance, we find the gross mistake of "Nuwáb" being spelt with an "u" in the first syllable throughout the volume, instead of the popular "Nawáb" with an "a," or the correct "Nawwáb." Is it Colonel Malleson who wrote the word as it stands, or Sir W. W. Hunter who left it so? However, this is better than spelling "Kabul" "Kabal," or "Mussulman" "Massalman," as followers of Hunter are apt to do, in the belief that to substitute generally "a" for "u" is scientific. Colonel Malleson's "The French in India" is so well known and so much admired that its utilization for the "Rulers of India" Series will not necessarily add to his reputation. "Dupleix" might have become such a ruler, or rather have laid the foundation for the French rule of Southern India, had he had the fortune which favoured others who attribute their success among passive races to their own capacity. Dupleix, no doubt, first discovered the open secret which enables us to govern India with a handful of men ; and we have benefited by his pioneering, just as we are the largest gainers by another French enterprise, the Suez Canal. To sum up, Dupleix was about to be "a ruler of India," just as the author of the volume before us is about to be a great historian.

R.

* "Dupleix." By Colonel G. O. MALLESON, C.S.I. "Rulers of India Series." Edited by Sir W. W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

*The Sarts and their Language.**

By A. VÁMBÉRY.

THIS prince of travellers, before whom discoverers of trees or of elephants thousands of years old will yet hide their diminished heads, is constantly building on the basis which he laid when, with his life in his hand, he was a dervish in Central Asia. This is a very different thing from traversing, at the head of bands armed with the newest weapons, resistless countries and races, and bringing back, instead of a literature, conjectures as to pre-adamite pigmies, nobler than Shakspeare, or talking of trees in the language of penny-a-liners, and of real heroes in the strain of disappointed touts. In fact, there are travellers and commercial travellers.

Professor Arminius Vámbéry has republished in pamphlet form a lengthy article which he wrote on the treatise by the Russian savant, N. Ostroumow, on the meaning of the word "Sart." Among other important matters, several hundred Sart proverbs are published, which not only show the analogies and differences of the Uzbek dialect (the existence of which some members of the Royal Asiatic Society's Council deny) with the Osmanli form spoken at Constantinople, but also give a deeper insight into Sart life and Central Asian surroundings generally than the gallops taken through the unknown by Dr. Landells and other authorities in this country. For instance, what can be more suggestive than the proverb which says that "the Kalmuk does business when the time is over; the Hindu eats when his eye reaches the skull (out of hunger); and the Jew talks when his soul is departing," thus describing the laziness of the Kalmuk, the stinginess of the Hindu, and the melancholy of the Jew. Again, "When the Kirghiz cheats the Gipsy and becomes a Mussulman, he has no mosque, and when he becomes a Russian, he has no church." "If a Tájik is on horseback, he does not know God." "The

* "The Sarts and their Language." By A. VÁMBÉRY. (Deutsche Morgenländische Zeitschrift.)

Persian dare not go abroad (for fear of Turcoman raids), the Armenian not remain at home." "If your companion is a Russian, carry an axe in your hand." "However praiseworthy a Russian, his eyes are still blue." "All mankind is one man." "Two women meeting make a Bazár." "If ten women join in a complaint, every one of them will tell her own grievance." "A greedy horse is the gift of God; a greedy wife, that of Satan." "When the Sart becomes rich, he builds a house; when the Kirghiz becomes wealthy, he takes a wife." "Bread seduces the Mollah (priest), gold an angel." "A bad Kirghiz becomes a Sart; a bad Sart becomes a Kirghiz," and so on. "Sart," Professor Vámbéry, as ingeniously as correctly, derives from "Yaksarti," or dweller on the banks of the Yaxartes.

G. W. L.

The Presidential Armies of India.

WE should advise readers of this work, published during the quarter by Messrs. W. H. Allen, to peruse the preface before entering on the subject-matter of this book of reference on military affairs. It is the want of such a perusal which has caused critics to take a wrong estimate of the work written by the late Colonel Rivett-Carnac (11th Hussars), and continued by Colonel W. F. B. Lawrie (Retired Royal Indian Artillery). It is generally a thankless office for an author to take up another man's work; and the explanation of it in the present case can only be found in the preface. After citing various publications on our Anglo-Indian history, Colonel Lawrie, the editor of the present volume, is of opinion that without the graphic details which abound in such works, it would be impossible to do justice to the Presidential Armies of India; and then, he says, the subject might easily have been extended to two or three volumes instead of one. In carrying out Colonel Rivett-Carnac's original plan—so far as exhibited in the gallant and lamented Colonel's portion of the work—the editor preferred chiefly to confine himself to a few historical and

other sketches, supplementing the work with various useful details, so as to give the British public some idea of what has been performed by our Presidential Armies during "one hundred and fifty years of British Military glory, wonderful Civil administration and Mercantile success in the East." After Colonel Rivett-Carnac's vivid and interesting six chapters—which occupy considerably less than one-half of the entire volume—we venture to think that the "Continuation," or the remaining six chapters, with the Notes and Appendices, will not, by fair and candid minds, be denied a share of approval. Nay, more; it would almost seem unjust to deny it—as has been done in a few cases—to the author of "Our Burmese Wars," and "Distinguished Anglo-Indians." In this brief review we cannot help alluding to the propensity in which Colonel Lawrie indulges, of comparing events of the present day with those of by-gone times. For instance, Lord Clive was most anxious to check the growth of luxury and extravagance in the Indian Army. This immediately suggests to his mind that the present German Emperor, William, has become anxious regarding the alarming increase of luxury in the German Army, "which must be resisted with all seriousness and energy."

Colonel Rivett-Carnac begins his eventful history in 1497, when Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and discovered the sea route to the East, "and the Portuguese and Dutch subsequently captured all the coasts of India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," carrying us down to the fall of Dupleix—by far the greatest of French statesmen in India—in 1754, and the capture of Chandernagore (1757).

At this period the author of the "Continuation" takes up the narrative, continuing it,—necessarily in a rather desultory manner, on account of want of space,—down to the Third Burmese Expedition, 1886–87.

At the beginning of the seventh chapter, Colonel Lawrie alludes to the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava's speech at

Belfast (Sept. 19, 1889), on our Indian Empire, a portion of which has appeared in the recently published "Speeches" of the versatile Marquis. Public want of interest in India has hitherto been a drawback to its advancement; and it is, therefore, pleasing that two London daily journals should recently review, as leading articles, two works—one, the present volume; and the other, Colonel Malleson's *Life of Dupleix*. X.

English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century.

By JOHN ANDERSON, M.D., LL.D., etc.

MESSRS. TRÜBNER, in their "*Oriental Series*" (1890), have produced Dr. Anderson's work, tracing the history of our commercial dealings with Siam by the East India Company. They had the exclusive right to trade with the Eastern nations till near the end of the seventeenth century, when this monopoly was broken down by a resolution of the House of Commons in 1690. From 1610 till the arrival of the French, the East India Company and the people of Siam seem to have carried on commercial transactions in peace and to the advantage of all parties. Dr. Anderson gives an elaborate detail of the various ships which arrived in Siam, and the numerous agents stationed at the then capital, Ayuthia, and at Merqui. He then traces our occupation of the Southern Peninsula, and our friendly relations with the Sultan of Johore, and our successful trade in Singapore. His description of the rise of internecine jealousy, owing, apparently, to the interference of the French, their intrigues against the English and the Dutch, and the encroachment of Burma, is peculiarly interesting. Siam and Japan are now rising again as enterprising nations, and are opening up their rich stores of wealth to English enterprise, and hence the value of the present work. There is an excellent map and a copious Index. B.

*The Household Dictionary of Medicine.**

THIS work, which is very clearly written, appears in a handy-sized and well-typed volume of 378 royal octavo pages, followed by a number of blank sheets for memoranda. The author has evidently been at great pains to write for those who are at a distance from professional help; and his work will be of great service to Anglo-Indians and residents in various parts of the East. The price, 7s 6d., places it within the reach of every one; but such productions should always, whenever it be possible, be used under professional guidance. The prescriptions are sound, and there is a great deal of useful information connected with Preventive Medicine. M.D.

The Master of the Magicians.

THIS, the joint work of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps and Herbert D. Ward (London: William Heineman, 1890), is a charming book. It deals with court life in Babylon in the time of Nebuchadrezzar, with the captive Daniel as the central figure, and, like a bright thread running through the more sombre structure of the web, is a simple, but touching love tale, an idyl skilfully intertwined with the sterner situations of the case, in the fact that Daniel, nay even the queen herself, are by no means uninterested spectators of the tender drama. Without laboured description, the scenes and customs of the country are placed vividly before us, and we live and move and have our being in dreamy, sunny Babylonia, in that curious combination of barbarity and civilization, in the gorgeous ceremonial and display, allied to the revolting back scenes which characterized courts of the period in question. The king, a man of moods and fancies, and troubled with prolonged insomnia, which,

* "A Household Dictionary of Medicine, Preventive and Curative,"
By FREDERICK RUFENACHT WALTERS, M.D., Lond. Swan Sonnenschein
& Co., Paternoster Square. 1890.

combined with other causes, eventually culminates in madness, is marked with a ferocity and moroseness hardly human; but, as so often occurs with relentless natures, he who one moment for a mere whim would slay by hundreds, would again be gentle and tractable as a little child. Even when he is afflicted with lycanthropy, we find him fondling a pet lamb, which he, however, tears to pieces in a fit. The loving side of his nature is also brought out strongly in his relations to his beautiful, but popularly hated and mistrusted queen. Perfectly cognisant as he must have been of his wife's intrigues and alliances, aware of her uncultured, shallow intelligence, her frivolity and caprice, her petty jealousy, her vindictiveness and brutal cruelty, and all the other vices which went to make up a despicable woman, yet the king yielded her undeviating respect and devotion, and, thoughtful for her every comfort, set himself the gigantic task of constructing the marvellous hanging gardens in the space of thirty days, solely to gratify her longing for the cool mountain breezes of her early Median home—a construction, alas, at an awful sacrifice of human life! The constancy of his favour to the captive Daniel was perhaps tinged by fear of Daniel's God; but nothing of this kind detracts from his leniency and forbearance to the girl petitioner, and at the escapades of the brave, but hasty Sasa. The ascetic, saintly temperament of the learned hero, subject to strange, uncontrollable, prophetic trances, his moral intrepidity, his abstinence from the witcheries of the court—the more to be wondered at when we consider how they must have appealed to the ardent Jewish nature—the nobility of his conduct towards, and the relinquishment, of Lalitha; the man of fashion as typified in Allit; the simple, grand, yet feeble, scholarly mystic philosopher, Mutasaili; the innocence, the purity, the exquisite beauty, the grace, the *naïveté* and quiet dignity, which envelop his young daughter, Lalitha, in an indefinable, but wholly delightful glamour, affecting all with whom she came in contact, and more especially the change it

wrought in Allit—all these are characters well drawn and forcibly contrasted. The polytheism of the country, with its strenuous adherents in the king and Mutasaili, the anguish of their doubts and difficulties, the desperate struggle of pride and habit to retain what intelligence denied, its final overthrow before the Jehovah of the Jew, and the consequent overwhelming despair, the burning shame and humiliation of the two men—not in their own eyes alone, but in sight of each other and in that of the people, and which, among other causes, cost one devotee his life, the other his reason—all this constitutes elements for a story which is as admirably conceived as it is forcibly related.

L. B.

*Etruscan and Armenian.**

THIS learned treatise, which forms part of the programme of the University of Christiania for the current year, is an instance of the essential difference between the German and the English Schools of Philology. The former derives its knowledge from sitting, the latter from travelling. Dr. Sophus Bugge admits that he has only seen incomplete and incorrect transcripts of Etruscan inscriptions, and that his knowledge of Armenian is very defective; yet he, as a true disciple and admirer of the German method, evolves, out of what accident has thrown in his way, if not from the inner depths of a wise subjectivity, a hypothesis which only an actual inspection of Etruscan inscriptions and a thorough knowledge of Armenian could justify. The late Robert Ellis, in his "*Armenian Origin of the Etruscan*" (London, 1861), had already pointed this out; but, of course, the wise Bugge had not seen the Englishman's work—as what German philologist ever does?—though he now prominently

* "*Etruscan and Armenian.*" Researches in comparative language, by Dr. SOPHUS BUGGE, Professor at the Norwegian University, First Series. Christiania: H. ASHEHONG & Co., 1890.)

acknowledges its author's priority, which he calls unscientific. The Englishman will travel, and not sit down to study, the German used to study and not to travel. Why not combine the two sources of information and observation? As regards the vexed question of Etruscan, which, we think, Corssen has abundantly proved to be an Italic dialect, we had, after the failure of Betham, Kollar, Leoni, Stickel, Tarquini, etc., the learned Dercke's attempt to connect it with Finnish, Carl Pauli's repeated declaration that Etruscan is not Indo-Germanic at all, and so forth. Etruscan may be an ancient Armenian dialect, with some characteristics that belong to modern Armenian, but before Dr. Sophus Bugge publishes a second volume on the subject, and delivers a second series of lectures, we hope to hear that he has visited Italy, Lydia, and Armenia. L.

"The Speeches delivered in India from 1884 to 1888 by the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava" (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1890) can only be properly reviewed in connection with the circumstances to which they owe their origin. They are graceful and diplomatic, rather than statesmanlike, with the exception of the speech delivered just before his departure, at the St. Andrew's dinner in Calcutta, where he referred to the claim of the microscopic minority of educated, or rather anglicized, natives to represent India. Had he made this speech at the commencement, instead of at the end, of his rule, he might have undone some of the mischief caused by the good intentions of Lord Ripon, as carried out by subordinates like Sir Charles Aitchison, and others. His truest note was sounded at the Empire Club on the 11th July, 1883, or more than a year before he went to India, when he described an ambassador or colonial governor as "almost a jingo by profession," as he has abundantly proved by the annexation of Upper Burmah. The Speech at Belfast in October, 1884, does not apparently contain the allusions to his reliance on

the support of the Foreign Minister of Russia in the strong terms which we fancy we read at the time. Still, it was a wise audience which only gave "hear, hear" to those remarks, whereas allusions to other matters and men were invariably rewarded with "cheers," "loud cheers," "loud and prolonged applause." It is, however, curious that his flattery of the anglicized native at the Northbrook Club, "whose acquirements, princely charities, loyalty, and personal" qualities "were *well known*" to him, should not have been rewarded by applause, or that, at all events, the Moham-medan students who may have been present did not cheer his reference to the favour that he had received from the Sultan. Fortunately, Lord Dufferin on that occasion hastened to undo any misconception to which his Belfast speech might have given rise by affirming that in his Indian Viceroyalty he "certainly would not forget that national security must not be allowed to depend upon the moderation of a Minister of a foreign State." Then followed the departure of Lord Dufferin in the subsequently ill-fated *Tasmania*, and his arrival at Bombay, where began his Indian speeches, which we hope to be able to review in our next issue at the length and with the consideration due to this distinguished diplomatist.

R.

NOTICES.

THE last two numbers of the *Sanskrit Critical Journal* of the Oriental Institute at Woking, edited by Pandit Rishi Kesh Shastri, are to hand. The first contains a paper on the ethical maxims of sages in the Vyavastharnabasara (continued in the second number), followed by a short life of King Ballala Sen, who did for the Brahmins what Asoka did for the Buddhists, and under whom the Brahmins were classified. Then come some important instructions for a Vaidic Student (of the, unfortunately, too much neglected system of Hindu medicine). The paper on "The Hindu Festivals" is continued from the May number, giving further details as to the worship of the Goddess Durga. The translation of "Hamlet" into Sanskrit for the delectation of Pandits is also continued. Among "The Morals of Manu," we find that "the pain which the parent feels in bringing forth a child cannot be recompensed even in a hundred years." "A man should always do what his parents and preceptor desire. He only with whom they are pleased receives the fruit of good action." "To perform their service is the most pious action in this world, and a man should not do even a meritorious act without their consent." "The Nitisataka of Bhartihari" and "Rules for the conjugation of Sanskrit verbs" (continued in the second number), and "The Cloud Messenger of Kalidasa, with copious notes," concludes this number of the *Sanskrit Critical Journal*.

The second number contains, in addition to the continuations from the first, the following : "A short review of the Hitopadesa of Visnusarman, edited by Pandit Tarakumara

Kaviratna of Calcutta with copious notes, a literal translation in Bengali and a long appendix, etc., in the Bengali character. During the last four or five years Pandit Tarakumara Kaviratna, one of the famous Sanskrit scholars of the day in Calcutta, leading a purely literary life, has been engaged in bringing out a good edition of the Hitopadesa. He has been successful in his efforts; the get-up of the book is excellent, and it is remarkably free from typographical mistakes, for which nowadays the Sanskrit presses of India are generally condemned. The Hitopadesa is generally known as a work of Visnusarma, the author of the Panchatantra, which seems to us to be very absurd. Our reasons are fully explained in the foregoing Sanskrit part. As our readers are well versed in that language we need not repeat them here." In the "Morals of Manu," the Editor dwells on the following texts, "The mother, father, and the preceptor are indeed the three worlds, the three Asrmas, three Vedas, and the three sacred fires." "The father is the Garhapatya fire, the mother is the Dakshina, and the preceptor is the Ahavanisya fire" and "one respectful to these three gains victory over the three worlds, and shines over in the heaven like the sun with a brilliant body." The number concludes with an account of the visit of the learned Pandit Vedanta Bhattaraka Asukavi Gottu Lal to the Government Sanskrit College of Calcutta, which is celebrated in both prose and verse.

The following is a list of the contents of the last number of Al-Haqáiq, the *Arabic Quarterly Review*, edited by Syed Ali Belgrami, B.A., F.G.S., M.R.A.S., etc., and Maulvi Fázil Muhammad Abdul Jabbár Khan: "Jihád," by Dr. Leitner; "Life of Mani, the Painter," by Maulvi Abdul Jabbár; "The Philosophy of Arabic Lexicography" (continued), by Syed Kerámat Hasain; "The story of Rasselas" (continued) by Syed Ali Belgrami;

"The Relations of the East India Company with the Island of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf," by Mirza Namazie ; "Enlargement of the Brain," by Hakīm Ahmad Saīd ; Notices of New Books, etc.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The last numbers of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* contain a good deal of interesting matter. Those treating of philology, ethnography, numismatics, etc., devote most of their space to valuable numismatical contributions by Dr. H. F. Rudolf Hoernle. The "Grammar of the Dialect of Chhattīsgarh, in the Central Provinces," another contribution, has many features of interest, the collection of Proverbs deserving special mention. The grammar is a translation by Mr. George Grierson, C.S., from the Hindi, by Mr. Hīrālāl Kāvīyopādhyāya. The numbers devoted to natural philosophy, mathematics, etc., contain several mathematical investigations by Asutosh Mukhopadhyay, M.A. ; "Natural History Notes," from H.M. Indian survey steamer *Investigator* by Alfred Alcock, M.B., and G. M. Giles, M.B. ; an article on the "Occasional Inversion of the Temperature Relations between the Hills and Plains of Northern India," by John Eliot, M.A. ; and finally, under the heading of a "Catalogue of the Insecta of the Oriental Region," a classification of the Family Carabidae, Order Coleoptera, by E. T. Atkinson, B.A.

We have received five fasciculi of the grand "*Lexicon Linguae Hungaricae Ævi Antiquioris*," published under the auspices of the Hungarian Academy at Budapest, 1890. The Hungarian words are rendered in all their varieties of meanings and uses into both Latin and German.

Umā Sankar Misra, M.A., sends us a little volume containing "Political, Social, and Literary Papers," some of

which he has already published in English reviews. It is printed at the Chandrapraban Press, at Benares, and contains two articles on the "Indian National Congress," which Lord Dufferin considered to be "temperate, able, and judicious," and Lord Lytton "sober and sensible"; "The Native States of India," "Local Self-government," "Education in India," "Land Settlement in Bengal," "How London strikes an Indian on his arrival," are the remaining papers in this collection.

We reserve for review B. Bradshaw's "Dictionary of Mineral Waters, Climatic Health Resorts, Sea Baths, and Hydropathic Establishments." 1890. Trübner & Co., 57 and 59, Ludgate Hill (now Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.).

We have received the first instalment of Lucy M. J. Garnett's admirable [The Christian] "Women of Turkey, and their Folklore," with a most valuable ethnographical introduction by T. S. Stuart Glennie, M.A. (David Nutt, 270-71, Strand, W.C. 1890), but we must postpone its review till we receive the remaining volume on the Asiatic and Moslem Women.

(8) W

CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR,—The writer of the paper on "The Holy Mirror" is evidently not cognisant of the two versions of the Protevangelion which give the particulars of the immaculate conception of Mary and of the miraculous birth of Christ.

The history of Joachim and Anna is to be found in the Apocryphal New Testament, published by Hone in 1820, and translated from St. Jerome. For the most part yours is identical with one or the other version. But there is one error which I cannot think was made by Jerome Xavier.

It was not Jacob who was born unexpectedly, but Jacob's son, Joseph, after Rachael had long been barren.

The dates are not in the original. These were settled much later by the Church. The 15th December is not the date of Anna's conception, but the 8th, exactly nine *calendar* months before the 8th of September; just as Lady-day is exactly nine calendar months before Christmas Day.

In the Gospel of the Infancy there is the slightest possible mention of the taxing; and Mary is delivered, not in a stable, but in a cave. To this cave the Shepherds resort, and then the Angels.

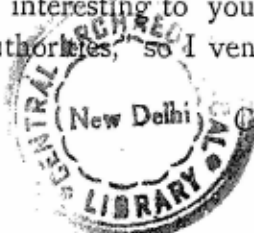
All the story of Joachim's disgrace, and Anna's grief, and of Mary's residence in the Temple as a child, is given in the Gospel of Mary, as well as the trial of the rods. There are, however, several variations in minor points.

The Gospel of Nicodemus ends with the conversion of Annas and Caiphas, whose confession ends :—

"And so it appears that Jesus, whom we crucified, is Jesus Christ the Son of God, and true and Almighty God. Amen."

I think it must be interesting to you to know some of Jerome Xavier's "authorities," so I venture to trouble you with these remarks.

W



C. D. COLLET.



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